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ETHNOMUSICOLOGY: A DISCIPLINE DEFINED

George List

A quarter of a century ago Jaap Kunst, dissatisfied with the term "comparative musicology," invented the new term "ethno-musicology." In so doing he placed the prefix or combining term "ethno" in front of the word "musicology" to indicate that the study was of the music of the races of man (1950:7). However, his definition was restrictive in that the study of Western art and popular music was excluded. In a later redefinition of the term, he indicated that the study also included the sociological aspects of music (1959:1).

Since that time that field of study known as ethnomusicology has expanded so rapidly that it now encompasses almost any type of human activity that conceivably can be related in some manner to what may be termed music. The data and methods used are derived from many disciplines found in the arts, the humanities, the social sciences, and the physical sciences. The variety of philosophies, approaches, and methods utilized is enormous. It is impossible to encompass them all within one definition. In my opinion, ethnomusicology cannot be adequately defined as an interdisciplinary activity. It is too diffuse, too amorphous. Ethnomusicology can only be defined when we consider what the ethnomusicologist is better equipped to accomplish than the anthropologist, the folklorist, the historian, the linguist, the so-called historical musicologist, the psychologist, or the sociologist. If we focus upon this, that activity which is uniquely ethnomusical, we are then in a position to define ethnomusicology. However, in this process ethnomusicology becomes a discipline in its own right and, like other disciplines, has not only its own focus, its own subject matter or particular type of activity, but shows some limitations in its fields of interest.

How then would one define ethnomusicology as a discipline, a *Wissenschaft*, a *scientia* in its own right? It is the study of humanly produced patterns of sound, sound patterns that the members of the culture who produce them or the scholar who studies them conceive to be music. Since the definition includes the words "humanly produced," bird song lies without the province of ethnomusicology. Since the definition includes the term "patterns of sound" the written or printed score that forms the guide to a performance is not the focus of our discipline. In this we differ from the

so-called historical musicologist. He focuses upon the written or printed score, we focus upon the performance of music whether or not a written prescription for its performance exists.

All humanly produced music shares to some extent a particular characteristic: two performances of what is considered to be the same item always differ in some manner. This is as true of a performance of a Mozart symphony as it is of a song sung by the Vedda. Not only do we deal with diverse cultures located in differing geographic areas but we also study a human product that is always in flux: this leads us to the social sciences as well as the humanities for the tools of our research.

The study of concomitant activities is necessary to our full understanding of the style and structure of music. Thus we study the texts of the songs sung, the making and playing of musical instruments, the kinetic activities that occur simultaneously with the music. Of particular interest are the concepts held by the members of the culture concerning the music they produce. These non-musical activities are of course of interest in themselves but the ethnomusicologist studies them in order to gain a greater understanding of various aspects of music. For example, a knowledge of what aspects of music are important to those who make it assists us in transcribing this music. The musical concepts held by the informants, however, are not always consonant with those of the ethnomusicologist. An informant, for example, may believe that he performs two items at the same tempo. When the recordings of both performances are checked with a metronome or a watch it may be seen that considerable change in tempo has occurred. Custom and psychological factors are operative here. A study based entirely upon the concepts held by the members of the culture, the results of which are not compared with the more objective conclusions within the capability of the ethnomusicologist is not, according to the definition offered, ethnomusicology. It lies within the scope of another discipline—psychology or perhaps one of those omnivorous disciplines, anthropology or sociology, which profess that they encompass all studies dealing with man and his works. For a study to be ethnomusicological the scholar must transcribe the music by one means or another, analyze its style and its structure, and compare his results with the concepts concerning the music held by the members of the culture in question if such concepts are available.

Music can obviously be studied as a means of solving a nonmusical problem. For example, Clark Wissler in his book concerning the American Indian (1922:155) suggested that music is a very stable cultural trait and therefore provides a useful means for determining the diffusion of other cultural traits. Such studies are of course feasible but they lie outside ethnomusicology as a discipline. For the study to be ethnomusicological the reverse purpose would have to be served. Other cultural traits would be

studied in order to arrive at conclusions concerning the diffusion of music. It is a matter of focus. Thus Alan P. Merriam's *The Anthropology of Music* (1964), as its name indicates, is an anthropological rather than an ethnomusicological work. It is concerned primarily with human behavior in making and reacting to music rather than in the musical product itself. Were the work ethnomusicological in character a reversed title would be required, *The Musicology of Anthropos*, the study of the music of man.

A detailed example may clarify this problem of focus. A number of years ago I published in *Ethnomusicology* an article concerning song melody and speech melody in central Thailand (1960). The article was recently republished in a collection of essays entitled *Intonation*, edited by a linguist (Bolinger 1972). Five tones are utilized in the dialect of central Thailand. The purpose of my study was to determine how the tones of the language affect the melody of song. In other words, I was utilizing linguistic data in order to arrive at a better understanding of the melodies of the songs. The editor of *Intonation* apparently believed that the linguist could derive from my study information concerning the modification tones undergo when sung rather than spoken. In other words, musical data would be used to arrive at a better understanding of linguistic phenomena. Possibly the article is useful for this purpose. However, what I would consider basic linguistic data is missing. I do not offer the texts of the songs in either Thai characters or in phonetic or phonemic symbols. I secured from my informants merely the tones they would have utilized if they had spoken the text of the song. However, without listening to the text of the song the informants could not have distinguished the tones as such. Thus, in my opinion, my study better serves an ethnomusicological than a linguistic purpose.

I am not arguing against interdisciplinary studies. Such studies have been carried on, are being carried on, and should be carried on. Insofar as they focus on the study of humanly produced sound patterns they can be described as partially ethnomusicological in character. No work can be said to be fully ethnomusicological, however, unless its primary focus is on such study.

This leads us to methods or lines of inquiry. Ethnomusicology shares with other disciplines certain underlying points of view or methods. These are the securing of an adequate sample of the material to be studied, care and accuracy in all operations and procedures performed, and objectivity. The latter, objectivity, requires that one approach the problem—whether it be fieldwork, transcription, analysis, or comparison—with an open mind. The scholar should not be limited by one methodology or by one theoretical framework. Rather, he should apply the approach that seems most efficacious in solving the particular problem. Should no useful procedures be available he must invent those needed. One method in common use is for the scholar himself to learn to perform the music of the culture being studied. This

method was suggested by von Hornbostel in the early part of this century (Abraham and von Hornbostel 1909-10:15). It is a useful method as long as the performance itself does not become the goal. Then the activity becomes applied music rather than forming an aspect of ethnomusicological research.

Our field methods are those of the anthropologist, the folklorist, and the sociologist modified to meet our particular needs. New developments derived from physics—acoustics, electronics, optics—are probably more useful to us than to most other field workers. We take advantage of every new tool of this type.

Any approach, theoretical framework, or method can be utilized if it proves efficacious: models, paradigms, ethnoscience, cognitive process, semiotics. A knowledge of these is certainly useful in securing grants. All should be viewed with a critical eye, however, before any are applied to a particular problem. Does the emphasis lie so strongly upon process that the process is rarely completed? Are the results produced by such a lengthy process such that one could arrive at equally valid conclusions through the use of a traditional procedure in much less time? Does the model bring together two events that do occur simultaneously in time but that in reality have no significant relationship one to the other? One of course wishes to be *au courant* but one should be cautious in dealing with fashions that change from time to time. Nevertheless, any method or data derived from any discipline or source can be used if it is helpful in developing a better understanding of humanly produced sound patterns. This is the interdisciplinary character of ethnomusicology as a discipline.¹

NOTES

1. This article is a revised version of a statement made at a colloquium, "Future Directions in Ethnomusicology," at Indiana University, November 28, 1977.

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ASPECTS OF 'ARE'ARE MUSICAL THEORY

Hugo Zemp

0. INTRODUCTION

In this article we continue the exploration of the musical concepts of the 'Are'are people of the Solomon Islands, started in this journal with a study of their classification of types of music (Zemp 1978). We noted that, among other things, the 'Are'are make use of the concept of interval in classifying musical instruments. Furthermore, while seeking the boundaries of their music, we encountered the concept of musical segment. Here, these two concepts are studied in more detail, as well as a third—that of polyphonic organization.

Because of this choice—which is not arbitrary, as it reflects the importance of these concepts for the 'Are'are musicians—I have been led to leave out numerous terms in the 'Are'are musical vocabulary, terms having no direct relation to the topic, and whose inclusion would have lengthened this article excessively. For the same reason, this study is limited to 'Are'are analyses of the music of panpipe ensembles. This kind of music enjoys the highest prestige (being also the most often played, by the largest number of musicians, with the most extensive repertory), which guarantees that this study is not restricted to elements of marginal significance in 'Are'are musical conceptualization.

1. *AAHOA* (INTERVAL)

Like its English equivalent "interval," the term *aahoa* designates the distance between two places, for example, the space between two houses or two coconut trees. The 'Are'are musician explains this term by pointing to the difference in length between two adjacent pipes along the lower end of a panpipe. The same term is used to indicate the difference in length between two pipes belonging to two different instruments, placed one on top of the other by the musician to support his demonstration. The concept is primarily one of visually-measured distance, but, as we shall see, it also applies to the difference in pitch between two tones.

In an article dealing with panpipe scales, written after my first stay in the field (Zemp 1973), I stated that the 'Are'are had denominated only two intervals—the equiheptaphonic second (*rapi 'au*) and the octave (*suri 'au*). Two more intervals should be added: the third (*hoa ni 'au*) and the major second (*hari 'au*);¹ however, not every 'Are'are musician is aware of their denominations.

All these terms contain the lexeme *'au*, which we will come across very frequently, and of which I have elsewhere made a semantic analysis. The reader is reminded that, depending on the linguistic or extra-linguistic context, it can be translated as “bamboo,” “musical instrument” (made of bamboo), “instrumental music,” “panpipe ensemble,” “music” (including singing, but not slit drum rhythms), “melody” (cf. Zemp 1978: 37, 63).

1.1. RAPI 'AU (EQUIHEPTAPHONIC SECOND)

The equiheptaphonic second is the basic interval in the musical system of 'Are'are panpipe ensembles. The instruments of the *'au tahana* ensemble—considered to be the oldest type of panpipe ensemble, from which the others originate—all contain the equiheptaphonic scale in its entirety. The term *rapi 'au* is composed of two lexemes: *rapi* “twins of different sexes” and *'au* “bamboo.” The tones produced by the “twin bamboos” are thus considered as two close, but nevertheless distinct entities (not as close, in any case, as “twins of the same sex,” *'iu*). The longest pipe is “male” (*mane*), the other “female” (*keni*). The 'Are'are say “blow” or “hear an equiheptaphonic second” (*uuhi* or *noro rapi 'au*), but the term *rapi* can also have a verbal function: *'e rapi rete* (lit. “he [or that] ‘twins’ well”) can mean, depending on the context, “he [blows] equiheptaphonic seconds well” or “that [‘hears as’] perfect equiheptaphonic seconds.”²

The 'Are'are use the term *rapi 'au* to designate, firstly, a kind of harmonic ornament obtained by blowing simultaneously into two adjacent pipes of a panpipe in a *'au tahana* ensemble. The instruments of this ensemble have “equiheptaphonic seconds all around” (*rapi 'au hiru*), which, it may be added, makes for one of the major difficulties in playing them.

Secondly, the term *rapi 'au* is used to designate the equiheptaphonic second played simultaneously on two instruments, each of the musicians blowing into only one pipe.

If one asks an 'Are'are musician whether the term *rapi 'au* also applies to the interval when the two tones are played in succession (demonstrating what is meant on a panpipe), the answer is affirmative. The musician takes the instrument, plays the two tones in succession, and proves immediately that they are *rapi 'au* by blowing simultaneously into the two adjacent pipes! This is an indication that he sees this interval as primarily harmonic.

How are 'Are'are instruments tuned to the equiheptaphonic scale? Generally, the instrument-maker uses an old instrument as a model for taking measurements. However, this is only pushing the problem back in time: how did the 'Are'are achieve this tuning originally? They reply that it was by corporeal measurements, but few musicians still possess the necessary know-how, or are willing to undertake a task they say is much longer and more difficult than simply copying a model. It was perhaps in reaction to these remarks that 'Irisipau—one of the best musicians and theorists of 'Are'are music—once made a panpipe using corporeal measurements when I was least expecting it. A detailed description of the tuning process will be given elsewhere; for the moment, let it be noted that 'Irisipau used the width of his fingers to measure the difference in length between two adjacent pipes. He stated it thus, and one really couldn't be more explicit: "All intervals look different: it begins with a large interval, then it progressively diminishes. But they will all 'hear' alike: perfect equiheptaphonic seconds." (*Rikimana aahoa 'e rio mouta: 'e tara'ae aana aahoa paina ma 'e sihosihō 'e rae ii'isia. Ma 'e noro 'o'oana ra'o: 'e rapi rete.*) Although the instrument maker begins by estimating the intervals visually, his sense of hearing is the ultimate judge. To assess the accuracy of the *rapi 'au* on the entire range of the new instrument, he plays several melodies, transposing them to different pitches.

The instruments of the *'au paina* ensemble also include pipes tuned to the equiheptaphonic second, and into which the musician blows simultaneously. However, this interval occurs only at two set places in the octave; this, according to the 'Are'are musicians, is one of the reasons why these instruments are easier to play than those of the *'au tahana* ensemble.

In the *'au taka'iori* and *'au keto* ensembles, the equiheptaphonic scale is split up between pairs of instruments, with one member of the pair containing the pipes 1, 3, 5, 7, etc., and the other the series 2, 4, 6, 8, etc. The simultaneous playing of an equiheptaphonic second on two instruments forming a pair is also called *rapi 'au*. I was shown in detail how some musicians had made the instruments of an *'au keto* ensemble by using a panpipe from a *'au tahana* ensemble as a model (Zemp 1972b: 258). Furthermore, when 'Irisipau was dissatisfied with the tuning of the instruments of an *'au taka'iori* ensemble he had just made, he unfastened their bindings, and fastened together the pipes of two instruments making up a pair. In other words, he constructed a temporary panpipe containing the entire equiheptaphonic scale using the pipes from the *pai 'au* and *hoo* instruments, and another panpipe using the pipes of the *rehe* and *suri 'au* instruments (cf. Figure 1). After playing some pieces of the *'au tahana* ensemble repertory and correcting the tuning of the equiheptaphonic seconds, he once again separated the pipes into two series forming pairs, and fastened them solidly, with definitive bindings. The observation of these tuning

practices confirmed verbal information on the importance of *rapi 'au* in the polyphonic playing of the *'au keto* and *'au taka'iori* ensembles, in which, however, each instrument contains only a scale in thirds.

1.2. HOA NI 'AU (NEUTRAL THIRD)

Each of the instruments of the *'au keto* and *'au taka'iori* ensembles is tuned in a series of neutral thirds, *hoa ni 'au*. The etymology of this composite term, for which the literal translation is "remoteness of bamboos," confirms what the 'Are'are say about this interval: it is only one pipe short of having two equiheptaphonic seconds. By taking the two instruments of a pair, one tuned a second lower than the other, the musician furnishes a demonstration of this "remoteness": placed one on top of the other, with one slightly to the side, the two instruments make up a complete series of equiheptaphonic seconds (Figure 1). Earlier, we saw how the principle of dividing a

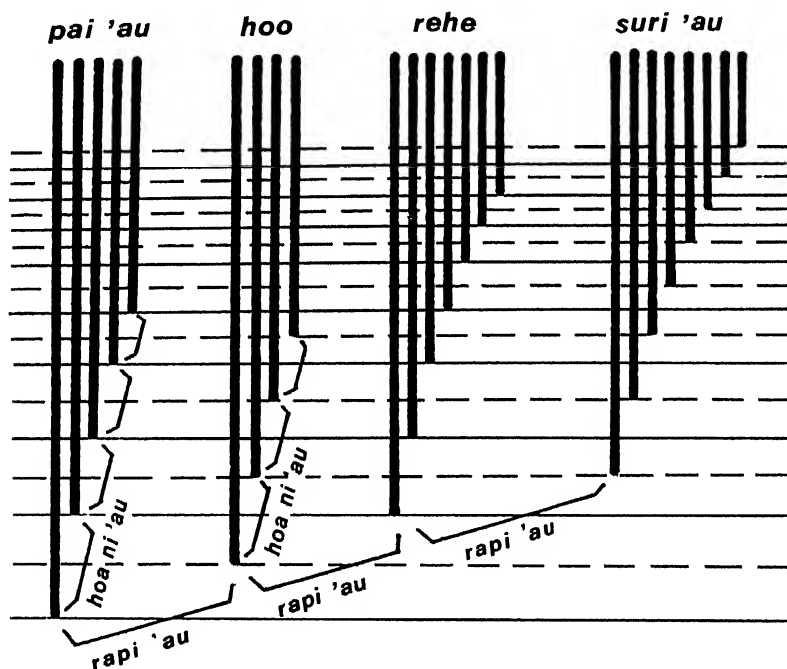


Figure 1. Schematic representation of the four panpipes playing in four voices in a *'au taka'iori* ensemble (for a drawing showing all ten instruments in their octave registers, see Fig. 24 in Zemp 1972a). To avoid overcrowding the drawing, only the "thirds" (*hoa ni 'au*) of the first two instruments and the "equiheptaphonic seconds" (*rapi 'au*) of the longest pipe of each instrument are shown between brackets.

third into two equiheptaphonic seconds, or of adding two equiheptaphonic seconds to a third, is consciously applied in the making and tuning of panpipes. Thirds also occur in the panpipe scales of the 'au *paina* ensemble, where they appear in two places in the octave (cf. Figure 2).

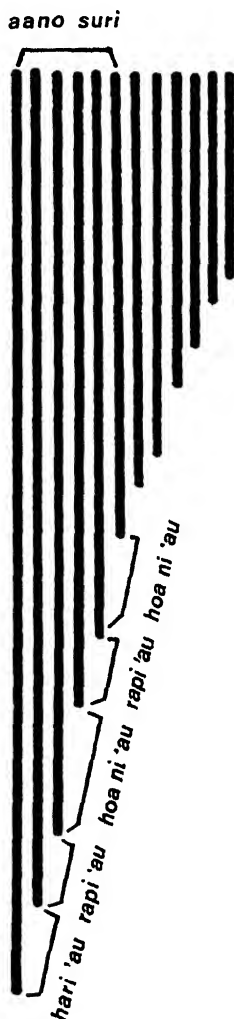


Figure 2. Schematic representation of a panpipe from an 'au *paina* ensemble. Between brackets are indicated the "major second" (*hari 'au*), the two "equiheptaphonic seconds" (*rapi 'au*) and the two "thirds" (*ho ni 'au*) within the first "octave" (*aano suri*).

The 'Are'are conceive the *hoa ni 'au* primarily as a melodic interval in the music of the three types of ensembles where it can be played on two adjacent pipes. This term is generally not used for the music of an *'au tahana* ensemble; however, by pushing all the even-numbered pipes slightly away from the normal alignment of the instrument, thus obtaining two series of thirds, the 'Are'are musician proves that the interval exists. I encountered only one case where the term *hoa ni 'au* designates the interval in the harmonic sense: at the end of pieces in the repertory of the *'au paina* ensemble.

1.3. *HARI 'AU* (MAJOR SECOND)

During my first period in the field, I gave too literal an interpretation to the tradition which held that the instruments of the *'au tahana* ensemble served as models for those of the *'au paina* ensemble, and I believed that the pentaphonic scale of the latter was considered as extracted from the equiheptaphonic scale of the former.³ However, acoustic measurements made in the laboratory showed that the tones produced by pipes 1 and 2 gave an interval larger than the equiheptaphonic second (Zemp 1973:106).⁴ Right from the beginning of my second stay it became apparent that the 'Are'are musicians are fully conscious of this difference in the size of the interval. They explained that on a panpipe of the *'au paina* ensemble, pipes 1 and 2 are never blown simultaneously, and that only pipes 2 and 3, on the one hand, and 4 and 5, on the other hand, produce equiheptaphonic seconds. But although all 'Are'are musicians are aware of this difference, not all of them know the denomination of this larger interval: *hari 'au* (Figure 2).

Outside the musical context, the term *hari* means "to separate," "to deviate"; thus, for example, it applies to the separation of two brothers who move apart to live at different places, or to the description of a path which forks, or to the act of separating the jaws of a cooked pig. The use of the term in this context can be explained by the "deviation" of the interval from the equiheptaphonic second, the basic interval for panpipe scales played in an ensemble. According to some musicians, the term *hari 'au* designates the sixth pipe (and, I was also told on one occasion, the first pipe) of a panpipe of an *'au paina* ensemble. One can easily understand this conception, as, in fact, the pipes appear to be tuned too low, and consequently, they seem to deviate from the basic equiheptaphonic system. Other musicians, however, call the sixth pipe *riaria*, after the name given to a one-seat canoe from Small Malaita that "deviates" in form from the 'Are'are canoes, and they specify that the term *'hari 'au* is indeed the name of an "interval" (*aahoa*).⁵

For the 'Are'are, the *hari 'au* is an exclusively melodic interval; it must not appear simultaneously in the polyphonic playing of the *'au paina* ensemble. This explicit rule was confirmed by my musical analysis of numerous pieces.

1.4. SURI 'AU OR AANO SURI (OCTAVE)

Suri 'au or *aano suri* are the denominations given by 'Are'are musicians to the interval called "octave" in Western terminology. In a nonmusical context, the lexeme *suri* contained in these two terms means 1) "lory," 2) "bone," 3) "to follow." There is no connection between the coconut lory—for which an alternative pronunciation is *siri*—and the interval which is the object of our study. The interpretation "bone of the music" for *suri 'au*, once suggested to me at the beginning of my research by an 'Are'are, is seductive for a Western mind, because the octaves do, in fact, constitute a virtual skeleton for the music of panpipe ensembles. But this interpretation was subsequently rejected by all the musicians with whom I spoke; all affirmed that in a musical context, the term *suri* has the third meaning, "to follow." Every voice in the polyphony of the *'au tahana* and *'au keto* ensembles, and two of the four voices in the *'au taka'iori* ensemble are doubled at the octave. The player of an instrument labelled "small" (*masika*) "follows" the player of a "big" instrument (*paina*), who is producing the same tones an octave lower. This does not imply that there is a temporal gap, with the player of the small instrument following after the large (if all the musicians are good, they begin and end playing at exactly the same time), but simply that the lower voice is considered more important. The adjectives *paina* and *masika* describe not only the size of a person or thing, but also its relative importance—a "big man" (*mane paina*) is a political leader who is followed by the "small people" (*ta'aa masika*). The beginner always learns with a small instrument, literally "following" with his eyes the lip movements of the musician with the large instrument. If there are too many errors, the latter will say: "Follow me!" (*'o ko suri nau!*).

As for the lexeme *aano* contained in the compound term *aano suri*, some 'Are'are think that its primary meaning is "to crawl" (*aano* has several meanings, depending on the context). The musician with the small instrument is thus said to "crawl following" the musician playing in the low register. But here, as in many fixed idiomatic constructions, the original meaning of each element does not necessarily come to mind when one speaks. 'Irisipau prefers the expression *aano suri* to *suri 'au*, as the latter also designates one of the voices in the *'au taka'iori* ensemble, and to avoid confusion we will follow his usage from now on.

One might infer from the above that *aano suri* describes a one-sided relationship, that of a small instrument defined in terms of another instrument, tuned an octave lower. Such is not the case. In the *'au paina* ensemble, where the two parts of the polyphony are both played by four instruments of different sizes, the two medium-sized panpipes are played by the best musicians, and the young beginner who takes the largest instrument (because

he has more wind than the old musicians) "follows" the playing of his neighbor, whose instrument is tuned an octave higher. Indeed, when two musicians are playing in parallel octaves one says that: "Those two are blowing in octaves" (*kerua ka uuhi aano suri*).

Some musicians use the terms *aano suri* and *suri 'au* only for octaves played simultaneously on two instruments of different sizes, and not for octaves played successively on the same instrument. On the other hand, those who know how to make panpipes explain that for instruments of the *'au tahana* ensemble with an equiheptaphonic scale, "the eighth pipe is the octave

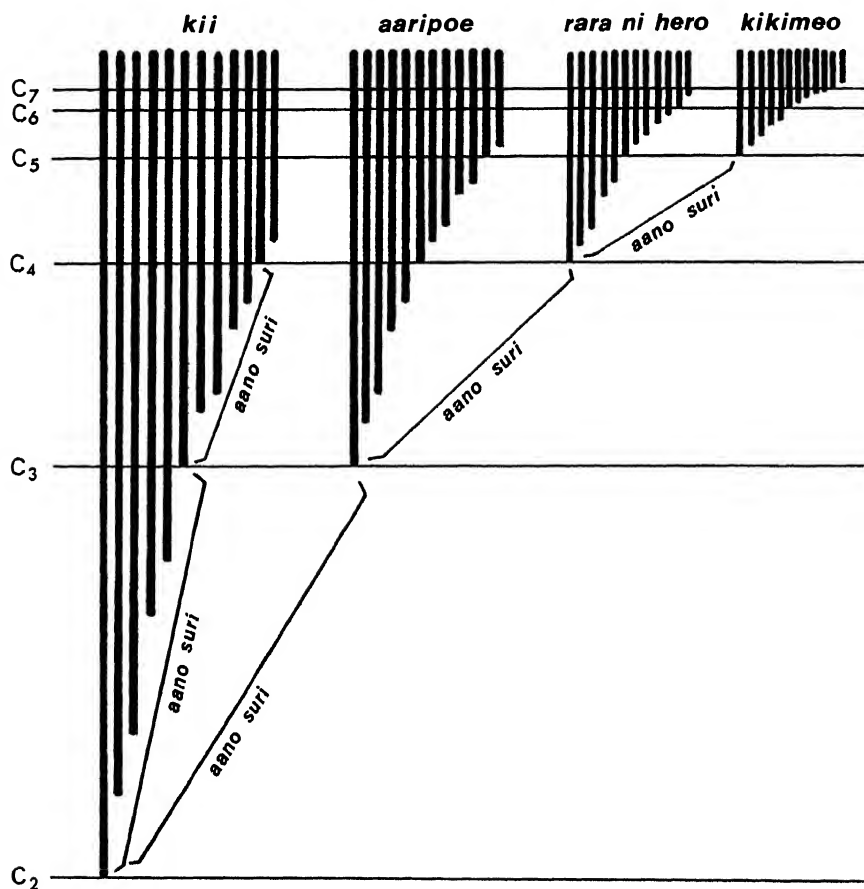


Figure 3. Schematic representation of the four panpipes in the *'au paina* ensemble playing the same voice quadrupled by octaves. Only the "octaves" (*aano suri*) of the longest pipe of the first instrument are indicated between brackets, but the 'Are'are recognize all the octaves occurring on two different-sized instruments and on the same instrument.

of the first pipe" (*waruna hau ni 'au aano suri aana 'etana hau ni 'au*); for instruments of the *'au paina* ensemble with a pentaphonic scale, the octave is the sixth pipe (Figure 3). When cutting new panpipes, the instrument-maker measures octaves not only on two different-sized instruments, but also on pipes of the same instrument. He then either doubles the length of a pipe, or halves it, thus obtaining, respectively, the lower and higher octaves. The instrument-maker then blows simultaneously into the two pipes, to check the accuracy of the tuning by ear.

1.5. REMARKS CONCERNING INTERVAL DENOMINATIONS

It will have been noted that the 'Are'are have denominated intervals produced by two adjacent pipes of the same panpipe: the equiheptaphonic second, the major second, the neutral third. Although the octave certainly cannot be obtained by blowing into two adjacent pipes (except on solo-played instruments, where the pipe order is irregular—see record III-A.10), it does occur when two adjacent instruments play together.

It comes as no surprise that the 'Are'are have a term (or even two terms) for the octave: given the structural importance of this interval in their music, it would be surprising if they didn't. The equiheptaphonic second is the interval that not only defines the basic panpipe scale, but also constitutes a major element in 'Are'are musical aesthetics as a harmonic interval. If the denominations for the major second and the neutral third are unknown to some musicians, this is doubtless because these intervals do not have the same primordial role in 'Are'are musical conceptualization as the equiheptaphonic second. The former are defined in reference to the latter, one because it "deviates" from it, the other because it indicates its absence by a "remoteness."

The denominations of two of the four intervals are principally used in the harmonic sense (equiheptaphonic second and octave); it is possible, although much less frequent, to use them in the melodic sense. Conversely, the denomination for the third is primarily used to designate the melodic interval; the third often occurs harmonically, but this appears to be verbalized only for the endings of pieces in the *'au paina* ensemble. As for the major second, this interval is exclusively melodic.

2. RO'U MANI 'AU (MELODIC SEGMENT)

When listening to stories recounting the composition of particular pieces, or to conversations between musicians, one often encounters the expression *ro'u mani 'au* or its synonym *toku mani 'au*. The lexemes *ro'u* and *toku* mean

the “folds” or “joints” in something long, for example, a finger, or a piece of string; the reduplicated form *ro'uro'u* signifies “elbow.” The term *mani 'au* means “piece of music”; the literal translation of *ro'u mani 'au* or *toku mani 'au* is “fold” or “joint in a piece of music.”

Similarly, there are expressions meaning “joint in a piece of song” (*ro'u mani nuuha*) and “joint in a piece for slit drums” (*ro'u mani 'o'o*); the neutral expression that can be applied to these three broad categories of music is “joint in a piece of thing” (*ro'u mani aa*). The term “musical segment” would be an acceptable equivalent for *ro'u mani 'au*, but as *'au* implies a melodic movement—absent in the slit drum rhythms, which, however, are musical in the Western sense (cf. Zemp 1978:62)—we can come even closer to the 'Are'are concept by translating it as “melodic segment.” This translation is all the more appropriate as the *ro'u mani 'au* segment every voice of the polyphony separately.

2.1. LINKING AND MAIN DIRECTION OF MELODIC SEGMENTS

The 'Are'are explain their concept of melodic segmentation by folding a string or a long leaf (Figure 4). A *ro'u mani 'au* is the unit of length between two “folds” or “joints.”

The main direction of the melodic movement in a *ro'u mani 'au* is expressed by the terms *siho* “to go down” or *hi hu'a* “towards the bottom,” and *hane* “to go up” or *hi uuru* “towards the top.” Like their English equivalents, these terms are used primarily to indicate movement in space: one “goes up” a coconut tree or “towards the top” of a mountain; one “goes down” a tree or “towards the bottom” of a hill towards the sea. But, to the great confusion of the ethnomusicologist, the 'Are'are terms are applied to melodic movements in the sense opposite to that in use in the West: “to go down” and “towards the bottom” indicate a movement towards the treble, and “to go up” and “towards the top,” towards the bass. The 'Are'are provide the following explanation: going towards the bass of a panpipe, one “goes up” “towards the top” because the pipes on this side of the instrument are “long” (*'ewa*); conversely, one “goes down” “towards the bottom” because the pipes

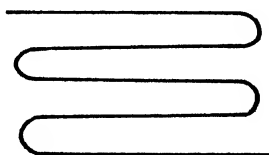


Figure 4. “Folds” or “joints” in a piece of string, visualizing the concept of *ro'u mani 'au* “melodic segment.”

on the treble side are "short" (*ko'osu*). To avoid confusion for the reader, I will henceforth translate the terms *siho* and *hi hu'a* as "towards the treble," and *hane* and *hi uuru* as "towards the bass." Concepts analogous to bass and treble also exist in 'Are'are. The expression *kou-na aapa ni 'au*, translated in this article as "the bass of a panpipe," or, more concisely, *kou'ii* (-'ii, anaphoric particle), contains the ideophone *kou*, which applies to the deep sounds obtained by striking the aerial roots of a large tree, by beating a few strokes on the largest slit drum, or by stamping on the ground. The expression *pau-na aapa ni 'au* "the head of a panpipe," or *pau'ii*, can also be used, but it is less frequent. The treble side of a panpipe is designated by the expression *kikiri-na aapa ni 'au* or *kikiri'ii*; in a non-musical context, *kikiri* describes the small bananas on the fringes of a bunch.

The musical transcription of the main voice of a piece in the '*au tahana* ensemble makes it possible to see how it is divided into "melodic segments," and their main direction (Figure 5).

The 'Are'are musicians demonstrate the segmentation into *ro'u mani 'au* and the main direction of melodic movements graphically, not only by folding a piece of string, but also by drawing parallel lines on the ground. If a musician persistently confuses the order of musical segments during a practice session at low volume, it is more practical—instead of leaning over to make a drawing on the ground—to indicate the main direction of the *ro'u mani 'au* directly, by passing the index finger over the mouthpieces of the panpipe. The



Figure 5. Division into "melodic segments" (*ro'u mani 'au*). '*Au tahana* ensemble; *pau ni 'au* voice; title: *Rooropau*. BM 72.16.1:4.6 See the notes on musical transcription in the appendix.

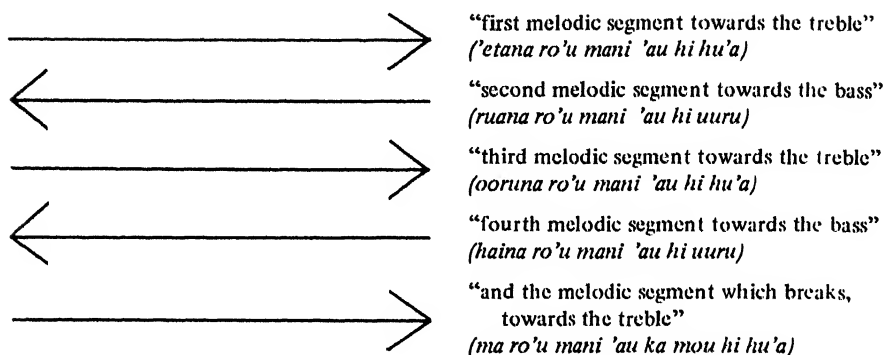


Figure 6. Lines drawn on the ground, or movements of the index finger on a panpipe, showing the direction of the *ro'u mani 'au* in the melody transcribed in Fig. 5.

melody transcribed in Figure 5 contains four *ro'u mani 'au*, which are played several times (at least twice) without a break; then the musicians slow down as they come to the “melodic segment that breaks.” Figure 6 shows the direction of lines drawn on the ground, or of the movement of the index finger on a panpipe, and is read from top to bottom in the direction of the arrows. The melody illustrated here is characterized by an alternate movement from bass to treble, and consequently, from left to right (for the musician, the bass is on the left side of the panpipe). Verbal explanations given by the musicians have been added to Figure 6.

Pieces this regular in form, with an alternate movement from bass to treble, are of course quite rare; 'Are'are music would be rather boring if the opposite were the case. Because it applies to the unit of length represented on the ground by a horizontal line, the concept of *ro'u mani 'au* does not imply a change in direction at every “fold,” and two or more successive segments can go in the same direction. In addition, melodic movements within a *ro'u mani 'au* are rarely in a single direction. When a melodic segment is said to be going towards the treble or the bass, the description applies to the general direction of the segment.

2.2. UUHI TA'A PO'O (OSTINATO)

Most pieces of music for the *'au tahana*, *'au paina*, and *'au keto* ensembles have several melodic segments in each voice-part. But there are also pieces in which each or one of the voices consists of the repetition of a single *ro'u mani 'au*, with a cadential formula. This type of ostinato is characteristic of two of the four voices in many pieces for the *'au taka'iori* ensemble. The



Figure 7. Ostinato (*uuhi ta'a po'o*) with the "melodic segment that breaks." 'Au keto ensemble; *maa ni 'au* voice; title: *Mou siki*. Record V-B.11.

'Are'are call the continual repetition of a single melodic segment *uuhi ta'a po'o* "to blow a single part" (Figure 7). In current, everyday language, the lexeme *po'o* means "side," "section," "part." I have chosen the third translation in order that the term retain its ambivalence in the musical context, which is comparable to that of its Western equivalent: like "part" in English, *po'o* in 'Are'are can apply to both form and polyphonic organization.

2.3. HAIMAANIHA (SEQUENCE AND TRANSPOSITION)

Sequence is a basic principle in the melodic movement of panpipe music. We have already encountered an example of this in Figure 5. The 'Are'are call this principle *haimaaniha* "imitation"; depending on the context, the verbal form *haimaani* (the prefix *hai-* indicates reciprocity) can mean "mimic," "imitate," "make public an intimate conversation." Although the term *haimaaniha* refers here to the repetition of a segment by the same voice at another pitch, it can also, like its counterpart "imitation" in Western terminology, apply to the repetition of a segment in another voice (cf.3.4). Sometimes another expression for sequence is used: *uuhi ta'a po'o* "to blow a single part," which also designates ostinato. In this way, the 'Are'are indicate that they see the identity of the melodic movement in the sequence as more important than the change in pitch. They do not, however, go so far as to confuse ostinato with sequence; when necessary, they add a reference to the direction in which the segment is transposed: "We blow a single part and we pull towards the bass" (*koru ka uuhi ta'a po'o ma koru ka rahuri hi kou'ii*).

Many pieces contain two melodic segments transposed to a lower pitch. In the example given in Figure 8, the two first segments are repeated and then transposed; the whole is played twice, and then the first segment is taken up again before the players move into "the melodic segment that breaks."

Some pieces have a particular form called *uuhi ha'arua* "to blow twice," in which the first part is terminated by a cadential formula containing the *ritardando* characteristic of a normal ending, the whole being repeated, this time with the final ending. In some of these pieces, the first part consists of a single melodic segment that is transposed to a lower pitch the second time it is played (Figure 9). "First they blow in the treble, then they start blowing again, and blow towards the bass" (*wariko kira uuhi hana kikiri'ii, ma kira suru aani uuhia hi puri ma kira uuhia 'ara'a hi kou'ii*).

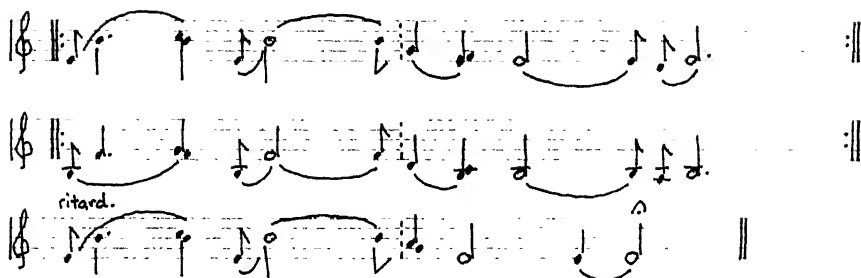


Figure 8. Sequence (*haimaaniha*) of two melodic segments. 'Au tahana ensemble; pau ni 'au voice-part; title: *Poo wee*. Record I-A.8.



Figure 9. Transposition (*haimaaniha*) of a single melodic segment with the cadential formula. 'Au keto ensemble; maa ni 'au voice; title: *Pina Ma'aikeni*. Record II-A.6.

2.4. LINKING OF TONES WITHIN A MELODIC SEGMENT

Within the *ro'u mani 'au*—and in addition to the main direction of the movement towards a lower or higher pitch—the 'Are'are differentiate between several ways of linking tones. The lexical expression *uuhi ru'aaha'i* means "to blow sliding," the term *'ru'aaha'i* being used, for example, in speaking of a person sitting down who changes places by sliding on his posterior, without getting up. In the music of the 'au tahana ensemble, where all the instruments have the entire equiheptaphonic scale, long passages where sliding from one pipe to another occurs are rare. Conversely, in the music of 'au keto and 'au taka'iori ensembles, where the instruments are tuned in thirds, this way of linking tones is the most frequent (Figure 10). 'Are'are sources confirm that this is one of the main reasons (another being the absence of harmonic ornaments of the equiheptaphonic second) why the panpipes of these two types of ensembles are easier to play than those of an 'au tahana ensemble.

The opposite of sliding from one pipe to another is called *uuhi hosura'i* "to blow hopping [like a frog]"; one can also say *pora ra'onía* "to jump over [the pipes]." In the music of the 'au keto and 'au taka'iori ensembles, one rarely jumps more than one pipe (which produces a fifth), or two pipes (a

seventh). In *'au tahana* music, short passages "blown sliding" alternate with passages "blown hopping" (Figure 11).

A melodic segment can also be characterized by reiteration, which is called *uuhi totohia*. The term *totohia* refers to a cooking process in which green bamboo stalks are used for braising in live charcoal. Musical reiteration is thus compared to the process of filling a bamboo stalk, into which are stuffed pieces of pork, tubers, and taro leaves, one by one (Figure 12).

Several types of cadential formulas have been named after particular ways of linking tones. The characteristic ending of the *aarita'i* voice in a very large number of pieces of the *'au tahana* ensemble is called *mou tatarasi* "to break scraping." The descending (in the Western sense) melodic movement of this cadential formula is compared to the motion of dragging something along the ground or scraping a finger or stick transversally across a row of bamboo stalks joined together to make a door (Figure 13).

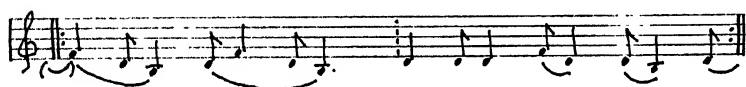


Figure 10. "To blow sliding" (*uuhi ru'aaha'i*). *'Au taka'iori* ensemble; *rehe* voice; title: *Waru hau ni aahe na'ona aau*. Record II-B.5.



Figure 11. "To blow hopping" (*uuhi hosura'i*). *'Au tahana* ensemble; *pau ni 'au* voice; title: *Mani 'au ni Rokera*. Record IV-A.1 (For the complete transcription of this piece see Coppet and Zemp 1978).



Figure 12. Reiteration (*uuhi totohia*). *'Au tahana* ensemble; *pau ni 'au* voice; title: *Riko Kiteitoro*. Record I-A.3.



Figure 13. "To break scraping" (*mou tatarasi*). *'Au tahana* ensemble; *aarita'i* voice; numerous pieces, for example, Record I-A.1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10.

One of the cadential formulas of the *pau ni 'au* voice bears the name *mou kiua* "to break planting." The lexeme *kiu* refers to the movements one makes with a digging stick when planting tubers. After driving the sharp end of the stick into the ground, one alternately pushes its top end to the left and to the right; likewise, this cadential formula comprises a movement from the right side of the instrument (treble) to the left, followed by a movement from the right side of the instrument (treble) to the left, followed by a movement from the first pipe (bass) to the third, and finally to the fifth pipe (Figure 14).

The movements in the cadential formula known as *mou 'isu* "to break shifting" are more restrained. Like the expression "to blow sliding," the name of this cadential formula is explained with the example of a person who does not know where he wants to sit, and who shifts from left to right before finally settling in the middle. When the musician reaches the pitch of the final tone, he shifts to the pipe on the left, and then to the right, before finally coming to a stop (Figure 15).

Some pieces have a double ending: after an initial "melodic segment that breaks," the musician moves into a second ending, which is the final one. This type of cadence is called *mou ha'arua* "to break twice" (Figure 16).

The end of a cadential formula is characterized by a long held tone (indicated on the transcriptions by a *fermata*), called *uuhi aaroaoromae'a* "blown [like] a flat sea." The absence of all pulsation in the breath is thus compared to the absence of waves on a motionless sea. Like a canoe gliding on a peaceful sea and slowly disappearing in the distance, the last tone of a

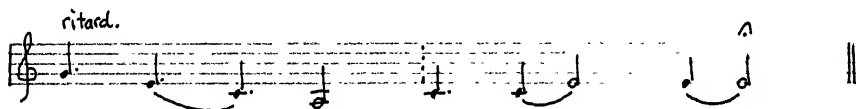


Figure 14. "To break planting" (*mou kiua*); 'au *tahana* ensemble; *pau ni 'au* voice; title: *Tama 'au*. BM 72.16.1:5.

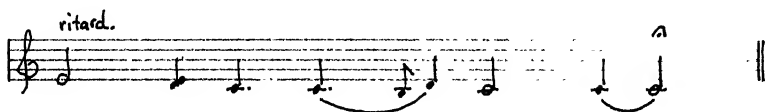


Figure 15. "To break shifting" (*mou 'isu*). 'Au *tahana* ensemble; *pau ni 'au* voice; title: *Mou 'isu*. BM 72.16.3:1.

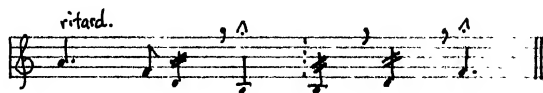


Figure 16. "To break twice" (*mou ha'arua*). 'Au *keto* ensemble; *maa ni 'au* voice; title: *Mou ha'arua*. Record II-A.7.

piece of music goes straight until it disappears, gradually decreasing in volume. Among the hundreds of pieces in the repertoires of the four types of panpipe ensembles, the only exceptions are a few pieces in the *'au keto* ensemble. These pieces, whose function is to indicate the end of a ten-piece series or of an entire musical performance, are distinguished by an abrupt ending known as *mou siki* "to break snapping" (cf. Figure 7).

2.5. REMARKS ON THE DENOMINATION OF MELODIC MOVEMENTS

The terms we have studied in the preceding sections show how the 'Are'are visualize melodic movements. The parallelism between a melodic movement that can be perceived by the ear with a movement that can be observed by the eye is a phenomenon of which every 'Are'are musician is conscious. The probable explanation for the importance of visual vocabulary in this domain is that any melodic movement played on a panpipe is a result of a correlative gestural movement. We have already pointed out that a beginner follows the lip movements of an accomplished musician with his eyes, and plays the same part an octave higher. Anyone learning to play an 'Are'are panpipe (myself included) can testify to the difficulties in attempting to play a piece one doesn't know very well at night if there is no lamp or moonlight to illuminate the faces of the other players.

There is more in this than the simple borrowing of visual vocabulary. 'Are'are musicians may get the idea for a composition by observing a movement in the forest or in the village. Titles of certain pieces and the stories relating the circumstances of their composition make clear that some 'Are'are music translates movements from the outside world. I shall cite three examples: the piece entitled *Rawauuruuru* "Spider" is composed to follow the swaying movement of a species of spider, which, settled in the middle of its web, sets it to swinging regularly; the piece *'Ereroaa'i* "Suspended" reproduces the pendular motion of a necklace of shell beads stirred by the wind; the piece entitled *Huu* "[Fruit of the tree] *Barringtonia asiatica*" imitates the movements of a piece of fruit that has fallen into the sea and alternately sinks and is tossed by the waves.⁷

Terms relating to musical segmentation and melodic movement are applied to pieces whatever their title and whatever the program, visual or auditive. The piece entitled *Pina* "Hornbill" (Figure 9), composed by Ma'aikenī to reproduce the flapping of the wings of this bird (whirring of the air and visual movement), includes a "transposition" (*haimaaniha*) and is characterized by the form "to blow twice" (*uuhi ha'arua*). The latter expression has also been used as the title for another piece. Earlier, we encountered other examples where a particular characteristic of the cadential formula was expressed in the title: *Mou ha'arua* "To break twice," *Mou 'isu*

"To break shifting," *Mou siki* "To break snapping." One possibility is that the original title of these pieces, referring to the source, was forgotten with time; alternatively, the composer may have conceived them as non-imitative pieces, and named them thus himself.

3. *PO'O NI 'AU* ([POLYPHONIC] PARTS OF THE MUSIC)

The 'Are'are are aware of the polyphonic nature of their music. Every 'Are'are knows the number of "parts of the music" (*po'o ni 'au*)—or, more concisely, "parts" (*po'o*)—in the four types of panpipe ensembles. There are two of them in the 'au *tahana* and 'au *paina* ensembles, three in the 'au *keto* ensemble, and four in the 'au *taka'iori* ensemble. Every part has a denomination, as does every instrument, depending on its place in the octave register. The musical organization of the parts and octave registers is visualized in space by the configuration of the musicians, which is always exactly the same for any given type of ensemble (Zemp 1972a).

3.1. POLYPHONIES IN "TWO PARTS" (*RUA PO'O*)

The two parts in the music of the 'au *tahana* and 'au *paina* ensembles are called *pau ni 'au* and *aarita'i*, terms that can have either a nominal or a verbal function. We have already noted that the lexeme *pau* means "head"; the *pau ni 'au* is the "head of the music," or, in other words, its main part. The 'Are'are recognized the verbal root *aari* "to braid a rope" in the term *aarita'i*. The *aarita'i* part is "braided" around the *pau ni 'au* part. In the north of 'Are'are country, these same two terms are applied to vocal music. In the south, one finds *pau ni kana* "head of the song" and *aape* "braided rope for climbing a coconut tree"—it will be noted that the same semantic fields are found in the two local languages.

A musician explained the relationship between the two parts as follows: "The *pau ni 'au* is the man; the *aarita'i* is the woman" (*pau ni 'au mane, aarita'i keni*); "the *aarita'i* turns around the *pau ni 'au* like a woman turns around a man" (*aarita'i ka hirusia pau ni 'au 'urihana keni ka hirusia mane*). The verb *hiru-si-a* (*-si*, transitive suffix; *-a*, object-marker) which, in this sentence has been translated as "to turn around" can, in other linguistic and extralinguistic contexts, have the meanings, "to tie up with string," "to roll up," "to entangle." Drawing a parallel between the relationship of the two parts in the polyphony and the one between the two sexes is not the only way of expressing the link between them. The systematic use of terms of the male/female opposition is not characteristic of 'Are'are musical vocabulary. In fact, there is another, more commonly used expression to describe the

connection between the two parts: *hiku* "to be bound in friendship." This verb applies both to relationships between members of opposite sexes and to friendships between members of the same sex. With the addition of the object-marker suffix *-a*, it means "to entwine," "to twist." For example, a liana "entwines" a tree; a man "twists" together the strips cut from the husks of two coconuts so that he can carry them in pairs. If the 'Are'are say *rua po'o ka hiku*, the expression can be rendered as "the two parts are bound in friendship." If they say *aarita'i ka ha'e hikua pau ni 'au*, the most accurate translation would be "the *aarita'i* continually entwines the *pau ni 'au*" (Figure 17).

Precisely because of this "entwining" it is more "complicated" (*hiruhiru'a*) to play the *aarita'i* than the *pau ni 'au*. One can recognize in *hiruhiru'a* the derivative form (reduplication and suffix *-a*) of the verb *hiru* "to entangle"; the reason something is "complicated" is precisely that it is "entangled." A beginning musician starts out by learning the *pau ni 'au* voice.

The expressions *uuhi sū* "to blow first" and *uuhi puri* "to blow after" are used to describe the two parts of a polyphony. The opposition first/after or in front of/behind is found throughout the entire island of Malaita, and characterizes the hierarchy of the parts in instrumental and vocal polyphonies.⁸ For the 'au *paina* ensemble, the expressions "to blow first" and "to blow after" indicate not only the hierarchical relationship between the parts, but also the order in which they begin playing (Figure 18).

Not only is the *pau ni 'au*, as the main voice, "blown first" and learned first, it is also the first to be composed. A musician always begins a new piece by composing the main voice, which is the one that "imitates" the sounds or movements he has heard or observed in nature or in the village. Likewise, when humming for his own pleasure, a musician will break into this voice.



Figure 17. The *aarita'i* part "entwines" (*hikua*) the *pau ni 'au* part. 'Au *tahana* ensemble; title: *Suri*. Record I-A.2.



Figure 18. The *pau ni 'au* voice "blows first" (*uuhi sū*); the *aarita'i* voice "blows after" (*uuhi puri*). 'Au *paina* ensemble; title: *Suasuarora-na Wa'aikao*. Record I-B.5.

However, the main voice irresistibly calls for the second voice. If, for example, the musician is accompanied by a friend, also a musician, in the course of a long walk through the forest, the latter will soon join in by singing the second voice. The *pau ni 'au* is the main voice only because the *aarita'i* exists.

The harmonic interval most characteristic of the music of the *'au tahana* ensemble is the equiheptaphonic second. Throughout a piece of music, the two parts often "entwine" in such a way that they create this interval. Some pieces even begin with this harmonic interval (Figure 17), and all "break (definitively) with equiheptaphonic seconds" (*mou [haha'usi] aana rapi'au*) (Figure 19).

The equiheptaphonic second also occurs harmonically in the polyphony of the *'au paina* ensemble, but the characteristic interval of this ensemble is the third, which marks the end of a piece—*mou aana hoa ni 'au* "to break with thirds" (Figure 20).

The parts in the music of the *'au tahana* ensemble are doubled at the octave; there are four musicians; each part is played on a big and on a small instrument, called, respectively, *'are paina* "big thing" and *'are masika* "small thing." The playing in the two registers is identical.

There are eight musicians in the *'au paina* ensemble; the two parts of the polyphonies are quadrupled at the octave. The instruments, in descending order of size, are named as follows: *kii*; *aaripoe*; *rara ni hero*; the denomina-



Figure 19. "To break with equiheptaphonic seconds" in pieces of the *'au tahana* ensemble. Title: *Suri*. Record I-A.2.



Figure 20. "To break with thirds" in pieces of the *'au paina* ensemble. Title: *Suasuarora na Wa'aikao*. Record I-B.5.

tions *kikimeo*, *kooneo*, or *tarawaiwasi* (cf. Figure 3) all apply equally to the smallest instrument. *Rara ni hero* is the only instrument denomination for which 'Are'are musicians can easily trace the etymology: the term means "leaves of *hero*," *hero* being the denomination of a young rush, whose leaves "quiver" (*rawariri*) at the slightest breeze. The lexical construction *uuhi rawariri* "to blow quivering" designates a very characteristic technique in the playing of 'Are'are panpipes—that of pulsation of breath, and provides the key to the mystery of this instrument's denomination. Pulsation of breath requires that tones be held for a certain length of time, and the third largest instrument (*rara ni hero*) is the first one whose size makes it really possible to do so. Only musicians with very good lungs are capable of "blowing quivering" on the *aaripoe*, and, for the most part, only on the treble side of the instrument. The pipes on the bass side of the instrument, and all the pipes of the largest instrument (*kii*) are blown more briefly and in a detached manner. The 'Are'are have two qualificatives to describe this manner of "blowing" (*uuhi*) without pulsation. The first (*uuhi makuru*), contains the idea of a short, low-pitched sound; *makuru* designates the sound made by a tree falling to the ground, or by stamping on the ground (one is reminded of similar connotations for the term *kou'ii* "bass"). The 'Are'are associate the second term (*uuhi kanaria*) with the divination song *kana* during which the participants at a seance periodically emit a sound known as *nuru* "growling" (cf. Record III-B.2).

Not only does the pipe size of the two largest instruments make it impossible to play long tones with pulsation of breath, it also rules out the playing of harmonic ornaments at the equiheptaphonic second (*rapi 'au*). Musicians have enough difficulty in sounding these large pipes one by one, a manner of blowing called *uuhi iisu ta'awake*. In a non-musical context, this



Figure 21. The four octave registers for the same voice in a 'au *paina* ensemble. The *rara ni hero* and *kikimeo* instruments are "blown quivering" and with harmonic ornaments at the "equiheptaphonic second"; the *aaripoe* and *kii* instruments are blown in a detached manner and the pipes are blown one at a time. Title: *Suasuarora na Wa'aikao*. Record I-B.5.

qualificative designates the act of picking, one by one, a single leaf per taro plant, for cooking in a bamboo stalk during a feast. Thus, due to the great diversity in instrument size, a given part in the 'au *paina* ensemble polyphony is not played exactly the same way in each register (Figure 21).

3.2. POLYPHONY IN "THREE PARTS" (*OORU PO'O*)

Unlike the music of the 'au *tahana* and 'au *paina* ensembles, where the two parts are played on instrument pairs with the same range (and consequently, the same denomination), the three parts in the music of the 'au *keto* ensemble are played on instruments with different ranges (cf. Zemp 1973). The reader is also reminded that the instruments are tuned in series of thirds, which complete each other to form an equiheptaphonic scale.

The three parts (and the instruments that play them) are called *maa ni 'au*, *rehe*, and *too 'au*. The term *maa ni 'au* (lit. "face of the music" or "eyes of the music") designates what is considered as the main voice, similar to the "head of the music" in two-part polyphonies. Some pieces are distinguished in that the three parts begin playing simultaneously, but in most pieces, the three parts start playing at different times, with the *maa ni 'au* going first. The *maa ni 'au* is the voice with which a musician begins when composing a piece, and which a beginner learns first when learning to play 'au *keto* music. Here it should be noted that *Maa ni 'au* is also the title of the piece that is always played first at a feast. The lexeme *rehe* means "to plait," "to weave a basket"; like the second voice in two-part polyphonies, the *rehe* "entwines" (*hikua*), "turns around" or "ties" (*hirusia*) the main voice. The relationship between the two voices is characterized by the frequent use of simultaneous equiheptaphonic seconds (*rapi 'au*). The meaning of the lexeme *too* is unclear; according to one musician, it could be onomatopoeic; the *too* voice goes *too too too* in "the bass" (*kou'ii*). The relationship between the *too 'au* voice and the main voice *maa ni 'au* is also characterized by equiheptaphonic seconds (Figure 22).



Figure 22. The *rehe* voice "turns around" (*hirusia*) the main voice *maa ni 'au*, while the *too 'au* voice plays in the "bass" (*kou'ii*). The *maa ni 'au* "makes equiheptaphonic seconds" (*ka rapi*) of, on the one hand, the *rehe*, and on the other hand, the *too 'au*. 'Au *keto* ensemble; title: *Mani Waihaho*. Record II-A.10.

Every part, doubled at the octave, is played on a “big” and a “small” instrument. Hence, there is a *rehe paina* and a *rehe masika* etc. The playing in the two octave registers is identical.

3.3. POLYPHONY IN “FOUR PARTS” (*HAI PO'O*)

The four parts in the music of the *'au taka'iori* ensemble are played on instruments with different ranges, tuned in series of thirds, and completing each other in pairs. The instruments and the parts they play have the same denomination. One pair is made up of the instruments *hoo* and *pai'au*; the other, of the instruments *rehe* and *suri 'au* (cf. Figure 1).

The denomination *hoo* appears to be onomatopoeic; in many pieces, this voice consists of a simple succession of tones at the same pitch: *hoo hoo hoo hoo*. The term *pai 'au* is thought by some musicians to come from *pai* “to be friends with” (*pai-keni-ha* “to be friends with a woman”). A probable explanation for its use in this context is that it describes the association between the two parts; the 'Are'are say: “the *pai 'au* and *hoo* are bound in friendship and this ‘hears’ as equiheptaphonic seconds” (*pai 'au ma hoo kero ka hiku ma 'e noro wara rapi 'au*). The 'Are'are also use the term *maa ni 'au* “face of the music” for the *hoo* voice, thus showing that they consider it as leading the *pai 'au* voice.

We have already encountered the names of the two other parts: *rehe* and *suri 'au*. The first means “to plait.” The second, containing the lexeme *suri* “to follow,” also designates the octave; in this case, however, the *suri 'au* part “follows” the *rehe* part, not at the octave, but by “entwining” it (*hikua*) with equiheptaphonic seconds. Other expressions are also applied to these two parts: *rehe sii* “*rehe* first” and *rehe puri* “*rehe* after.” We have already seen that on the island of Malaita, the terms “first” and “after” often indicate a dependancy relationship in two-part polyphonies.

The *'au taka'iori* is the only panpipe ensemble with a rhythmic accompaniment, this produced by striking with one hand on a pad of leaves called *ma'eta*, which can be replaced by a folded pandanus mat normally used as an umbrella. The term *ma'eta* applies equally to the pad of leaves, the striking on this leaf-pad, and the dance movements of the percussionists. The dancing is accomplished with much pleasure, and *ma'eta* also means “to leap with joy,” “to be happy.” In addition, *Ma'eta* was the name of a feast, abandoned several generations ago, during which the *'au taka'iori* ensemble played with a dance between two rows of stone walls. In most pieces, the rhythmic accompaniment *ma'eta* follows the rhythm of the *hoo* voice (= *maa ni 'au*), but there are also pieces characterized by the “striking following the *rehe*” (*ma'eta so'ona rehe*).

The 'Are'are distinguish between two kinds of pieces, depending on whether they begin with the *rehe* or the *maa ni 'au* voice. Several pieces, whose original titles are no longer known, are simply classified as "*rehe* pieces" or "*maa ni 'au* pieces." Figure 23 shows the beginning of a piece in the first category. The *rehe* and the *suri 'au* voices "begin" (*tara'ae*). The two other voices do not make "melodic segments"; the musician with the *hoo* instrument "blows in a single pipe of bamboo" (*ka uuhi ta'a hau ni 'au*), while the *pai 'au* "makes equiheptaphonic seconds around" (*ka rapi 'ohia*).

The frequency of this texture had led me, in previous publications, to describe the *rehe* and *suri 'au* as the "melodic voices," and the *hoo* and *pai 'au* as "accompanying voices." I have abandoned this terminology, as it is not based on 'Are'are concepts, and does not take into account pieces of the *maa ni 'au* type. In the latter, the *hoo* and *pai 'au* voices are often no less melodic than the *rehe* and *suri 'au* voices: each of the four voices is made up of "melodic segments" (*ro'u mani 'au*). Figure 24 shows the beginning of a piece of the *maa ni 'au* type.

The *rehe* and *suri 'au* voices are doubled at the octave, each being played on a "big" and a "small" instrument. The two other voices are tripled at the octave: "big" (*paina*), "medium" (*kaoa*), and "small" (*masika*). Often the adjective *masika*, used for the smallest instrument, is also applied to the medium-sized instrument.⁹

The *rehe* and *suri 'au* instruments are "blown quivering," whereas the *hoo* and *pai 'au* instruments are played with no (or almost no) pulsation. That this is not evident for everyone can be seen in the following anecdote. During a practice session, a young man performing in a *'au taka'iori* ensemble for the



Figure 23. Beginning of a piece of the *rehe* type. The *rehe* and *suri 'au* voices "begin"; "the two are bound in friendship, and it 'hears' as equiheptaphonic seconds" (*kira rua ka hiku ma 'e noro wara rapi 'au*). The *hoo* "blows in a single pipe of bamboo" and the *pai 'au* "makes equiheptaphonic seconds around." Rhythmic accompaniment follows the *hoo* voice (*ma'eta so'ona hoo*). 'Au *taka'iori* ensemble; title: *Mani rehe*. Record V-A.9.



Figure 24. Beginning of a piece of the *maa ni 'au* type. 'Au *taka'iori* ensemble; title: *Mani maa ni 'au*. Record V-A:10.

first time and wishing to play well, blew a *pai 'au* instrument with a distinctly marked “quivering.” The other musicians burst into laughter; one of them, our friend Supamae, took the instrument from him, and, exaggerating the volume, showed him the correct way to play it, without pulsation. Afterwards, it was rare that we had a practice without one of us jokingly beginning a piece of the *maa ni 'au* type with pulsation. And every time, the joke was still considered good by the other participants.

3.4. VOICE-LEADING

Most pieces of music belonging to the repertoires of the four types of panpipe ensembles have a voice-leading which the 'Are'are call *uuhi aara haisuri*. In addition to *uuhi* “to blow,” one can recognize in this expression the lexemes *aara* “to assemble” and *suri* “to follow,” with the prefix of reciprocity *hai-*. The voices are conceived so that they will “assemble by mutually pursuing one another.”¹⁰ This is what produces the rhythmic lag which is characteristic of voices in the 'Are'are polyphonic texture, and also explains why the melodic segments of the different parts do not always begin and end at the same place. By making it possible to measure exactly the lengths of tones, the technique of breath pulsation contributes to achieving perfect accuracy in this rhythmic lag; it helps “glue” (*nako*) the voices to each other, to avoid that “the music collapse” (*'au ka aakora*). This fluid voice-leading, with its continual assembling and pursuing between the parts (which a Western musicologist would call “contrapuntal”) is evident in the transcriptions in Figures 17, 18, 22 and 26.

Contrary to this principle, there is the voice-leading called *uuhi suru wa'a moumou*. This expression is made up of four verbs: *uuhi* “to blow”; *suru* “to lift,” “to begin playing a piece of music” (with implied continuation);¹¹

wa'a "to split," "to detach," "to divide into sections"; *moumou* "to break." In pieces where the voice-leading is designated by this term, the musicians "lift and split up" the voices, or, in other words, they "begin (and continue) in a detached way," by playing the tones of each part at the same time. The 'Are'are also say that the parts "are all lifted together" (*hata'i suru*). Here the assembling is established from the beginning; the musicians all blow into the pipes of their instruments simultaneously; the melodic segments of all the parts begin and end at the same place. This simultaneous use of the same rhythm in different parts of the polyphonic texture (which the Western musicologist would call "homorhythmic") is illustrated in Figure 25.

The distinguishing characteristic of the polyphonic texture of the 'au *taka'iori* ensemble (Figures 23 and 24) is that the link between the two pairs of voices is of the first type (contrapuntal), while the voices within each pair have a relationship of the second type (homorhythmic).



Figure 25. "The three voices are all lifted identically" (*ooru po'o ka hauni suru 'oa'oa*). 'Au *keto* ensemble; title: 'Uta'uta *paraha*. Record II-A.3.



Figure 26. "Imitation" and "exchange" between voices. 'Au *tahana* ensemble; title: *Roromera (Keni ni mato)*. Record V-A.5.

Some pieces of music in which the voices "assemble by mutually pursuing one another" are also characterized by the "imitation" (*haimaaniha*) and "exchange" (*hairikisiha*) of voices. We have already encountered the first term (2.3); the second means, in a non-musical context, "exchange," "replacement." The two terms are used by the 'Are'are musicians as synonyms for the same musical form: the canon. I heard these two expressions for the first time as titles of two pieces of music, but they are also used for pieces which have a title relating to the program of the composition. According to 'Are'are musicians, "imitation" and "exchange" are characterized by the fact that the secondary voice plays the same melodic segments as the main voice, but "when one voice goes toward the bass, the other goes toward the treble" (Figure 26).

3.5. REMARKS ON THE HIERARCHIZATION OF VOICES

All the voice denominations, and the metaphorical expressions that describe their relationships, attest to a hierarchization of voices in the polyphonic playing of panpipes. This lexically expressed hierarchization is confirmed by learning and composition practices.

We have seen that in the music of the 'au *taka'iori* ensemble, the four voices are grouped by pairs, and that one voice in each pair turns around what is regarded as the main voice. Of the four, one voice is considered more important than the other three: this voice, the first to be composed, starts the piece. Relating how a piece of the *maa ni 'au* type was composed, a musician said: "The *maa ni 'au* voice, they blew first; *pai 'au* and the two *rehe*, they blew from it, they made *aarita'i* with (them)" (*po'o ni 'are aana maa ni 'au, kira uuhi sii ri'i; pai 'au ma rua rehe kira pi'i uuhi suai ru'u, kira pi'i aarita'i so'oi*). Notably, in this expression the three parts *pai 'au*, *rehe sii*, and *rehe puri*, which are defined in reference to the main voice *maa ni 'au*, are compared to the *aarita'i* voice in 'au *tahana* and 'au *paina* panpipe ensembles. In other words, the relationships between the four voices of the 'au *taka'iori* ensemble are reduced to the opposition main voice/secondary voice that exists in two-part polyphonies.

Another musician explained the hierarchization of parts as follows: "One thing is important regarding panpipes, slit drums, songs, and speeches: what is called 'to lead' (*tarai*). The way of leading differentiates the sound of panpipes. When men play panpipes, the *maa ni 'au*, which leads the ensemble, introduces all the melodic segments, and all the other instruments turn around it. In speaking, one person leads the talk on all things, and the words of the others will revolve around all that he said in his speech. When people gather together, one word is important: 'to lead.' For one should lead all things according to their inherent meaning."

4. CONCLUSION

Summing up his ideas on standards of excellence in musical performance in different parts of the world, and introducing further material on verbalization relative to musical structure, A. P. Merriam writes:

It is also to be expected that cultures differ in the extent of such verbalization, but at the same time it is very doubtful that any people have nothing whatsoever to say about their music style (Merriam 1964:117).

And, if three years later, he makes the surprising statement that "the Flathead simply do not verbalize about music" (Merriam 1967:45), one is led to ask, with W. Powers:

One becomes curious as to whether the "inability" to verbalize about music may not be a result of the manner in which musical questions were posed to the informants. Furthermore, if one does not speak the native language one is not in a position to factualize whether or not a preliterate people are capable of verbalizing about music in a technical sense. . . . I would agree with Merriam that most Indians do not verbalize about their music *in English*, nor do they articulate well about singing when responding to questions unanswerable in their own cultural context. To this I would add that interpreters also have difficulty verbalizing both in Indian and English about many facets of their traditional culture depending largely on their degree of acculturation. But I cannot agree that the Flathead, or any other groups of Indians who are capable of formulating extensive taxonomies of natural phenomena, are not capable of verbalizing about their music satisfactorily to their societal needs (Powers 1970:72).

. . . when it comes to analyzing such phenomena as music verbalization and concepts of formal structure and aesthetics, there is a greater need for ethnomusicologists to "deculturate" themselves from Western orientation and take the cue from the proponents of ethnosience, that is, to "think Indian" (Powers 1970:70).

While the capability of formulating extensive taxonomies of natural phenomena does not necessarily entail the existence of extensive music terminology, the methodological point is well taken. Concerning concepts in aesthetics, which "tribal societies" are presumed to be lacking just as often as they are denied to possess knowledge relating to musical structure, A. Kaepler has written:

The language used in talking about such endeavors provides some guidelines, but it is not sufficient to rely upon semantic analysis alone. Only by repeatedly relating aesthetic evaluation to actual performance, under a variety of conditions, can an investigator approach a reasonable level of comprehension (Kaepler 1971:175).

Applied to the topic we are concerned with here, these requirements mean that a linguistic study of interval denominations should be linked with the observation of tuning practices and playing techniques, that the vocabulary dealing with polyphony should be correlated to learning processes and the spatial configuration of musicians, etc. As M. Herndon says:

Our cues to our informants' perception and conceptualization of their music are not all verbal. They may include ritual or legal framework, economic clues, or proxemic data (Herndon 1976:221).

Directive interviewing centered on musical conceptualization would doubtless produce few results, particularly if it is not based on an already extensive knowledge of the terminology the musicians employ in a usual context. I learned the 'Are'are terms relating to the notions of interval, melodic segmentation and polyphonic organization little by little, as I was acquiring knowledge of the language and musical practice. Conversations about music occur quite naturally in the course of making new instruments and during practices, either at a feast (every piece is practiced softly until all the musicians play it correctly), or at an informal learning session. By learning to play himself, the ethnomusicologist becomes a musician and participates in these conversations; he learns the terminology in its habitual context. 'Are'are musicians—and in this they are probably like many other musicians in other parts of the world—speak more readily of musical structure when a beginner makes mistakes. To be sure, some 'Are'are musicians state that although they know how to play their instruments very well and have an extensive repertory, they are less familiar with the "stories" (*sisihora*), "words" (*wara*), and "names" (*ratana*) connected with panpipe music. This should come as no surprise: as in the West, among the 'Are'are there are excellent musicians who are exclusively performers, and others who are also theorists.

To those who would deny the technical nature of 'Are'are musical vocabulary, one can address the following observations: like its English equivalent "interval," *aahoa* in 'Are'are designates the distance between two places in space; *ro'u mani 'au*, lit. "joint of a piece of music," is no less technical than "musical" or "melodic segment"; *po'o* is really as close as one can get to the English word "part," with the same ambivalence in meaning as concerns both melodic segmentation and polyphonic organization, not to mention a comparable usage in the two languages in a non-musical context. These three examples refer to the principal concepts studied here, but similar examples are numerous and could be cited at will for other terms of musical vocabulary: one need only think of the terms *pau ni 'au* "head of the music" and *uuhi sii* "to blow first," which are comparable to "*vox principalis*" and "first voice"; *hane* "to go up" and *siho* "to go down," which, in 'Are'are as in English, designate movement in space being applied to melodic movements, etc.¹²

'Are'are musicians—or at least some of them—are aware of the connection between the doubling or the halving of the length of a pipe and the auditive result, the octave. They are conscious of, and verbalize the relationship between the equidistance of intervals perceived auditive, and the progressive diminution in intervals perceived visually. They know that pan-

pipes of the oldest ensemble, from which the others are derived, are characterized by seven equal musical intervals within an octave. They establish a relationship between a gestural movement or a spatial direction and a melodic movement, and this regardless of their onomatopoeic term for the bass and iconic one for the treble. They have a concept of melodic segmentation (rhythmic for slit drums). They recognize and denominate the basic principles of melodic and polyphonic progression, such as ostinato, sequence, and imitation. They know the number of voices in their polyphonies, and their hierarchical relationships, the temporal relationships between voice-parts, etc. Of course, the concepts described here were not—to use the expression of a participant in our seminar—“served up on a silver platter” (but then, can this be said of any thought system in a non-literate culture?). It was up to the ethnomusicologist to elucidate these elements from a nevertheless coherent thought system, of which this study presents only some aspects.¹³ These concepts were certainly not developed by chance in a society where panpipe music has a significant role. Apparently using as a basis, at least in part, the material Thurnwald brought back from Bougainville (northern Solomon Islands)—which was, however, much more fragmentary than ours—and probably keeping ancient China in mind as well, the French anthropologist Marcel Mauss said in the course of his lectures (between 1926 and 1939):

A theory of music exists everywhere there are panpipes. Distinctions are made between lengths of pipes, and there is evaluation of absolute pitch for tones, of intervals (Mauss 1947:91).¹⁴

Perhaps the generalization made by M. Mauss before material from “everywhere” is available was somewhat premature, but the idea that the measurability of a musical instrument can create conditions favorable to the elaboration of a musical theory is worthy of retention. In the same line, George Herzog, who had studied concepts relating to the registers used for talking drums and for other musical instruments among the Jabo of West Africa, writes:

Partial as these native theories are, . . . they demonstrate how terminology and technical theory may well develop where there is an object or instrument on which an otherwise abstract system can be observed in visible operation; the growth of musical theory and of scale-systems also is connected with observations on musical instruments, not on the singing voice or on acoustic phenomena in the abstract (Herzog 1945:232).

Oceania, Africa . . . does this mean that perhaps musical theory is not the privilege of the “art music” of the so-called “high civilizations” of Europe and Asia, as many musicologists (with or without the prefix ethno-) still hold today? The title of this article makes our position clear. True, the ‘Are’are do not have a scientific theory of music (but does the West have one?). The ethno-theory of the ‘Are’are, with perhaps a more extensive use of spatial and

figurative language, is not fundamentally different in nature from Asiatic ethno-theories. The tools the musicologist uses today are also largely borrowed from an ethno-theory (that of the West), hence the appeals made by ethnomusicologists for the creation of a musicological meta-language, with a system of notation universal in scope—in short, a truly scientific theory of music. As regards the 'Are'are, their musical conceptualization is a revelation for the ethnomusicologist, including the author, as is the perfection and beauty of their musical compositions.

Translated by Vida Malkus

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NOTES

1. The 'Are'are language, spoken by less than 10,000 people in the southern part of Malaita, is Melanesian, hence a member of the large Austronesian language family. In the transcription of 'Are'are words, the apostrophe marks a glottal stop.

2. The English forms between quotation marks are more or less literal translations of 'Are'are expressions and are chosen for their comprehensibility. The definitions of 'Are'are terms are provided in the text itself. In the same way that the English equivalent of the French *pomme de terre* is not "apple of the ground" but "potato" (a literal translation can, nevertheless, show how a word was composed), the semantic equivalent of the 'Are'are *rapi 'au* is not "twin bamboos," but "equiheptaphonic second." For the 'Are'are musician, *rapi 'au* is not the sum of the lexemes "twins" and "bamboos," but a specific musical interval, as is the expression "equiheptaphonic second" for an ethnomusicologist. Obviously, this does not imply that the acceptions in the two languages are identical.

3. Which A. P. Jones calls the "formula 1-1-2-1-2" (Jones 1964:97).

4. In numbering the pipes, we begin with the *longest blown pipe* of an instrument. The panpipes of the 'au paina ensemble generally contain a very long pipe, which, although tuned, is never blown. Tucked under the left arm, it enables players to have a better grip on the large instruments.

5. The term *hari 'au* also designates the "wrong notes" played by a musician who involuntarily "deviates" from the correct melody. It is in this sense that one should understand the title of a piece belonging to the repertory of the 'au tahana ensemble

(whose scale, it will be recalled, has no major seconds, *hari 'au*). The story recounting the composition of this piece relates that it received this title as a result of the wrong notes played by a musician the first time it was performed.

6. The figures after the letters BM at the end of a legend indicate the number of the tape stored at the Département d'ethnomusicologie of the Musée de l'Homme. The last figure, after the colon, refers to the number of the piece on the tape. To facilitate the reader's access to the sound recordings, I have chosen the musical examples, as far as possible, from published records. In this case the Roman numeral refers to the Discography; it is followed by the letter A or B indicating the record side, and a figure giving the band.

7. See the story of the latter piece in Coppet and Zemp 1978.

8. In north Malaitan languages, the corresponding terms are *na'o* "in front of" and *buli* "behind" (Zemp 1972a:14-20).

9. In the *'au taka'iori* ensemble called "from Marau" (the southeast point of Guadalcanal Island, inhabited by an 'Are'are group), there are no medium-sized instruments, only two "small" instruments the same size, and a "big" instrument tuned an octave lower (Zemp 1972a:34).

10. The expression *aara haisuri* is also used to describe the assemblage of pipes of the *'au ni aau* panpipe, which the 'Are'are contrast with the "decreasing assemblage" (*aara tahetahe*) of panpipes played in an ensemble. It had seemed to us that the translation "irregular assembling" would be appropriate in this context (Zemp 1978:44), but it should be noted that there is more a notion of "mutual pursuit" than of "irregularity" in *haisuri*.

11. When musicians break for a chat at the end of a piece, and one of them, becoming impatient, would rather play than talk, he says *koru ka suru!*, which can be translated "Let's start!" but also as "Let's continue!" Likewise, the pieces entitled *Suru 'au*, always the first to be played by the *'au tahana* and *'au paina* ensembles at a feast, announce all the pieces to follow.

12. I owe the idea of this paragraph on the technicality of musical vocabulary to the review-essay by W. Powers (1970:72) that compares, among other things, the Flathead terms *sup* "tail" and *laxt* "fast" to the Italian words *coda* and *allegro*.

13. The reader will find analyses of other 'Are'are thought systems in the works of the anthropologist Daniel de Coppet, with whom I attempted an initial analysis of links between musical and social structures (Coppet and Zemp 1978). The system of classification for types of music and instruments discussed in a preceding article (Zemp 1978), as well as numerous musical concepts examined in this article are explained by 'Irisipau and illustrated by musical performances and the making of panpipes in the two films mentioned in the Film List.

14. I am very grateful to Pierre Sallée, who, in the course of a discussion of my article at a seminar of our Research Team, drew my attention to this observation by Marcel Mauss.

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DISCOGRAPHY

(All discs: recordings and notes by Hugo Zemp)

- (I) Flûtes de Pan mélanésiennes, 'Are'are vol. 1. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1971. Collection Musée de l'Homme. Vogue LDM 30104.
(II) Flûtes de Pan mélanésiennes, 'Are'are vol. 2. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1972. Collection Musée de l'Homme. Vogue LDM 30105.
(III) Musique mélanésienne, 'Are'are vol. 3. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1973. Collection Musée de l'Homme. Vogue LDM 30106.
(IV) 'Are'aré, un peuple mélanésien et sa musique. One 7" 33 1/3 rpm disc included with the book by Daniel de Coppet and Hugo Zemp (see Bibliography).
(V) Musique des bambous 'Are'are. Two 12" 33 1/3 rpm discs. Collection C.N.R.S.—Musée de l'Homme. *Le Chant du Monde* (forthcoming).

FILM LIST

Musique 'are'are. A film by Hugo Zemp. Produced by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (SERDDAV), France. 16 mm, color, magnetic sound, 180 minutes.










Tailler le bambou. A film by Hugo Zemp. Produced by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (SERDDAV), France. 16 mm, color, magnetic sound, 40 minutes.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON TRANSCRIPTIONS

As the *'au tahana*, *'au keto* and *'au taka'iori* ensembles have a equiheptaphonic scale, the staff should be read according to this scale, not the Western diatonic scale. In the pentaphonic scale of the *'au paina* ensemble, the "major second" (*hari 'au*) is transcribed as C-D, the "equiheptaphonic second" (*rapi 'au*) as D-E and G-A.

In harmonic ornaments at the "equiheptaphonic second" (*rapi 'au*) played by a single voice-part of the *'au tahana* and the *'au paina* ensembles, the pitch transcribed left of the stem is the one of the melodic line (performed in singing); the pitch right of the stem is sometimes less strong or may even fall off.

The basic time-unit of *'Are'are* panpipe playing is provided by the pulsation of breath, 6 to 7 "beats" a second, to which I attributed the rhythmic value of a sixteenth note. If the notes are played legato, marked with a slur, they contain the full number of pulsating "beats" (i.e.  = 2 "beats";  = 4 "beats";  = 6 "beats"); if they are disconnected by inhaling of the breath or otherwise non-legato, they have to be read as containing one "beat" less ( = 1 "beat";  = 3 "beats";  = 5 "beats"). In some pieces, this pulsation is more strongly marked, becoming a musical reiteration (*uuhi totohia*) notated with two transverse lines on the stem of the quarter or half notes ( Ex. 2 and 6); before rests or breaks marked by an apostrophe, the full value of length transcribed is played ( = ).

The vertical dotted lines delimit "melodic segments" (*ro'u mani 'au*) and are not bar lines. However, in pieces of the *rehe* type of the *'au taka'iori* ensemble, I notated bar lines for the *pai 'au* and *hoo* voices, and also the percussion, as the general impression, reinforced by the dancing movements, is of a two-quarter measure.

Big brackets over the staff (Exs. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8) indicate that the notes included are not played at the beginning of the pieces, but only during repetitions of the melodic segments.

EXAMPLES 1 AND 2. 'AU TAHANA ENSEMBLE

The instruments all have the complete equiheptaphonic scale (*rapi 'au hiru* "equiheptaphonic seconds all around"). Passages "blown sliding" (*uuhi ru'aaha'i*) alternate with passages "blown hopping" (*uuhi hosura'i*). In each voice the musicians play harmonic ornaments at the "equiheptaphonic second"; this interval also appears frequently as the result of the simultaneous playing of two instruments in two-part polyphony, and characterizes in particular the cadential formula which "breaks with equiheptaphonic seconds" (*mou aana rapi 'au*). The *aarita'i* voice "entwines" (*hikua*) the *pau ni 'au* voice which "leads" (*tarai*). Each voice is doubled at the "octave," played on a "big" (*paina*) and a "small" (*masika*) instrument. Example 1 was entitled *Uuhi rihu* ("To blow all around") because all pipes, from the treble to the bass, are blown. The piece is furthermore characterized by "sequences" (*haimaaniha*) and by a cadential formula that "breaks twice" (*mou ha'arua*). The two voices "assemble by mutually pursuing each other" (*aara haisuri*). In Ex. 2, there is in addition a section where the "two parts are lifted identically" (*rua po'o ka suru 'oa'oa*), with reiterations (*uuhi totohia*) in the *pau ni 'au* voice.

EXAMPLES 3 AND 4. 'AU PAINA ENSEMBLE

The pentaphonic scale has within an "octave" a "major second," two "equiheptaphonic seconds," and two "thirds." The *pau ni 'au* voice "starts" (*tara'ae*); it "leads" (*tarai*) the *aarita'i*, which "turns around" (*hirusia*) it. At the end, the two voices "break with thirds" (*mou aana hoa ni 'au*). Each voice is quadrupled at the octave, played on four instruments with different denominations. The harmonic ornaments at the "equi-

heptaphonic second" are played mainly in the two upper octave registers where long tones are "blown quivering" (*uuhi rawariri*). The instruments of the two lower registers are blown in a detached way (*uuhi makuru*, *uuhi kanaria*) and the pipes are blown one by one (*uuhi iisu ta'awake*).

EXAMPLES 5 and 6. 'AU KETO ENSEMBLE

Each instrument has a series of "thirds." Most often the musicians "blow sliding" (*uuhi ru'aaha'i*) from one pipe to an adjacent one. The ensemble has "three parts" (*ooru po'o*), each being doubled at the octave and played by a "big" (*paina*) and a "small" (*masika*) instrument. The *maa ni 'au* voice "leads" (*tarai*); it "starts" (*tara'ae*) in Ex. 5. The *rehe* voice "entwines" (*hikua*) the *maa ni 'au* and often "it 'hears' as equiheptaphonic seconds" (*'e noro wara rapi 'au*). The *too 'au* voice stays in the "bass" (*kou'it*) and also "makes equiheptaphonic seconds" (*ka rapi*) with the *maa ni 'au*. As do almost all pieces of panpipe ensembles, Ex. 5 has the ending called "blown [like] a calm sea" (*uuhi aaroaarmac'a*), while Ex. 6 "breaks snapping" (*mou siki*) as its title indicates. In Ex. 5 the voices "assemble by mutually pursuing one another" (*aara haisuri*); conversely, in Ex. 6 the voices "are lifted identically" (*ka suru 'oa'oa*).

EXAMPLES 7 AND 8. 'AU TAKA'TORI ENSEMBLE

As in the *'au keto* ensemble, each instrument has a series of "thirds," which the musicians play by "blowing sliding" (*uuhi ru'aaha'i*) from one pipe to another. The ensemble has "four parts" (*hai po'o*) for panpipes and a rhythmic accompaniment by "striking leaf pads" (*ma'eta*). The *rehe* and *suri 'au* voices are doubled at the octave, played on a "big" (*paina*) and a "small" (*masika*) instrument; the *hoo* and *pai 'au* voices are tripled at the octave and contain in addition an instrument of "medium" (*kaoa*) size. *Pai 'au* and *hoo* "are bound in friendship and it 'hears' as equiheptaphonic seconds" (*ka hiku ma 'e noro wara rapi 'au*); the same is true for *rehe* and *suri 'au*. The "striking of leaf pads follows the *hoo* and *pai 'au*" (*ma'eta so'ona hoo ma pai 'au*). In Ex. 7, which is from the group of *rehe* pieces, the *rehe* and *suri 'au* voices "start" (*tara'ae*); the *hoo* "blows into a single bamboo pipe" (*uuhi ta'a hau ni 'au*), while the *pai 'au* "makes equiheptaphonic seconds around" (*ka rapi 'ohia*). In Ex. 8, which belongs to the group of *maa ni 'au* pieces, the *hoo* and *pai 'au* voices "start" (*tara'ae*) and play "melodic segments" (*ro'u mani 'au*) as well as the *rehe* and *suri 'au* voices.

Example 1. 'Au tahana ensemble. Title: *Uuhi rihu*. Record V-A:4

$\text{♩} = 56$

The musical score is presented in four systems, each consisting of two staves. The first system is labeled with 'masika' and 'paina' for both staves. The tempo is indicated as $\text{♩} = 56$. The music is written in a staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

Example 2. 'Au tahana ensemble. Title: *Pisi ni tootora*. Record I-A:9

$\text{♩} = 104$

araita 'i

maoika

paina

pau ni 'au

maoika

paina

ritard.

a tempo

n times

ritard.

a tempo

n times

ritard.

Example 3. 'Au paina ensemble. Title: *Aaniaanita-na 'Oko'ohimane*. Record I-B:4

$\text{♩} = 16$

start

aania
 kikimwo
 nana
 ni heru
 nari'pou
 kii

pau
 kikimwo
 nana
 ni heru
 nari'pou
 kii

Example 3. (continued)

ritard.

The musical score consists of two systems, each with four staves. The first system is for the group 'aarita'i' and the second for 'pau ni 'au'. Each system includes staves for 'kikimo', 'rara ni horo', 'aaripoc', and 'kii'. The music is written in a staff with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The first system begins with a 'ritard.' marking. The notation includes various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The second system continues the musical material from the first.

Example 4. 'Au paina ensemble. Title: *Paoro*. Record I-B:1

$\text{♩} = 64$

start

1, 2, etc.

aarita'i

kikimoo

rara
ni hero

aaripoo

kii

pau ni 'au

kikimoo

rara
ni hero

aaripoo

kii

ritard.

end.

Example 5. 'Au keto ensemble. Title: *Maa ni 'au*. Record II-A:1

♩ = 210
♩ = 220

rehe
maika
paina

ma ni 'au
maika
paina

too 'au
maika
paina

start

ritard.

Example 6. 'Au keto ensemble. Title: *Mou siki*. Record II-A:11

$\text{♩} = 72$

The musical score is written for three vocal parts and three piano parts. The tempo is marked as $\text{♩} = 72$. The score is divided into two systems. The first system shows the vocal parts and piano parts. The second system shows the piano parts and a 'ritard' marking.

Vocal Parts:

- yefie:** maotika, paina
- maza ni:** maotika, paina
- too 'au:** maotika, paina

Piano Parts:

- maotika:** (three staves)
- paina:** (three staves)

Second System:

- maotika:** (three staves)
- paina:** (three staves)
- ritard:** (marked above the piano parts)

Example 7. 'Au taka'iori ensemble. Title: 'Asi. Record II-B:2

$\text{♩} = 116$

musical score for 'Au taka'iori ensemble, Title: 'Asi. Record II-B:2. The score is written for a 12-part ensemble. The first system includes parts for 'suri' au (masika, paina), 'rehe' (masika, paina), 'pai' au (masika, kaa, paina), 'hoo' (masika, kaa, paina), and 'ma'cta'. The second system continues the ensemble with more parts. The score includes a tempo marking of 116 beats per minute, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some parts having longer note values. A 'start' marking is present in the first system, and 'end' markings are present in the second system. The score is divided into two systems by a double bar line.

Example 8. *Au taka'iori* ensemble. Title: *Maa ni 'au*. Record V-A:8

$\text{♩} = 69$

start

auri 'au

masika

paina

rehe

masika

paina

pai 'au

masika

kaoa

paina

hoo

masika

kaoa

paina

ma'cta

PAÑCATŪRYA NĀDA AND THE HĒWISI PŪJĀ

Anuradha Seneviratna

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to describe one of the most important musical traditions associated with the Buddhist rituals and ceremonies on the island of Sri Lanka. The majority of its inhabitants are Sinhalese and their ancestors are the Aryans who migrated to Sri Lanka from the northwestern and eastern parts of India at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. Thēravāda Buddhism, the religion of the majority, was introduced to the island in the third century B.C. by the great emperor Dharmasoka of India during the reign of kind Devanampiyatissa. Since then Buddhism has been the main force in this country. The lives of the people were molded by the teaching of Buddha, and Sinhalese culture became essentially Buddhist.

At the beginning, the strict orthodox Thēravāda Buddhism did not encourage all art forms to develop, because they evoke sensual pleasures and lead the layman to evil, detracting from the Buddhist ideal of life. It encouraged painting, architecture, and sculpture, on the basis of giving religious instructions to the people and evoking in them religious sentiments (Sarachchandra 1966:8). But the influence of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Hinduism in later times helped to create a folk religion meeting the daily needs and demands of the people. This folk religion, a synthesis of the above three main beliefs, created a village culture with rituals and ceremonies embodying dance, drama, music, and other folk arts. Buddhist temples and monasteries became centers of religious rituals, ceremonies, education, and learning. The *Pañcatūrya* (fivefold musical sounds) and the *Hēwisi pūjā* (homage of the drums) are two such musical traditions that originated in the Buddhist temple ritual and continued through the ages.

PAÑCATŪRYANĀDA

All dance forms within the Buddhist cultural framework in Sri Lanka are based on rhythmic drumming, and therefore percussion music plays an

important role in the musical tradition. There is abundant historical and literary evidence to show that a large number of musical instruments were used in the past. The same sources tell us that all traditional musical instruments were conveniently brought under a common name, *Pañcatūryanāda* or *Pasaṅgaturunada*, meaning "fivefold" because of the five different ways these instruments are played. The *Pāli Vamsatthappakāsini* (Malalasekara 1935: 518) commentary on the great chronicle *Mahāvamsa*, written during the sixth century, categorizes the five as *Ātata*, *Vitata*, *Ātatavitata*, *Ghana*, and *Susira*. According to this classification, "*Ātata*" means a drum of the *Mṛdanga* type with one head made of skin. "*Vitata*" means a drum with two skin heads. "*Ātatavitata*" means an instrument with strings. "*Susira*" means a wind instrument. "*Ghana*" means a metallic instrument such as a cymbal, which produces sound by striking one against another. That this classification has been accepted for a long period is made evident in the *Dharmapradīpikā* (Dharmarama 1951: 304), the classical Sinhalese literary work of the 13th century.

According to Indian tradition, instruments are divided into four groups: *Ghana*, *Avanaddha*, *Susira*, and *Tat*. In other words, instruments belonging to Idiophone, Membranophone, Aerophone, and Chordophone types. The main difference between the two traditions lies in the *Ātata* and *Vitata* categories of Sri Lanka, which are combined in the Indian *Avanaddha*.

There is a general belief among the people of Sri Lanka that the country has no Art Music tradition. But those well conversant in Sinhalese classical literature know that this is not the case. Literary works such as *Sinhala Bodhivamsaya*, *Thūpavamsaya*, *Saddharmaratnāvalīya*, *Saddharmāṅkārya*, *Pūjāvalīya*, *Jātakapota*, *Ridīvihāra Asne*, *Umandā Gāṭapadaya*, *Dhātuvamsaya*, *Daladā Sirita Butsarane*, *Kavṣiḷumiṇa*, *Daṁbadeni Asne*, *Sihabā Asne*, *Kuvēni Asne*, *Pārakumbā Sirita*, *Sandesas*, and *Haṭan*, give an abundance of names of musical instruments in vogue at the time. Names of such musical instruments found in the early literary works are collected and listed in works such as *Society in Medieval Ceylon*, by M. B. Ariyapala (1960); *Sinhala Dance and Music* by C. E. Godkumbure (1970); *Lankāwe Saṅgīta Sambhāvaya* by C. de S. Kulatilake; *Gampola Yagayē Kalāṣilpa* by Anuradha Seneviratna (1973); *Nṛtya Ratnākara* by J. E. Sedaraman (1959). Of those musical instruments listed, those actually used by the artists in Sri Lanka is a matter to be examined further, for in ancient times the influence of Indian music can be seen in the literary evidence. In addition some confusion with regard to the classification system has arisen especially concerning the first three musical sounds; *Ātata*, *Vitata*, and *Ātatavitata* or *Vitatātata*.

In recent times, the above five musical sounds have been analyzed in the following manner (Sedaraman, 1968: 48):

1. *Ātata* means an instrument which is played by one hand, for example drums like *Panābera*, *Patabera*, *Udākki*, *Dākki*, *Raban* and *Bummādi*.
2. *Vitata* means an instrument which is played with a stick such as *Tamboru*, *Tammāṭṭam* and *Dandūbera*.
3. *Ātatavitata* which means an instrument played by hand and with a stick such as a *dawula* or a cylindrical drum.
4. *Susira* means a wind instrument such as a *horanāwa* (oboe) or a *hakgeḍiya* (conch).
5. *Ghana* is a metallic instrument such as a cymbal.

As C. Sivaramamurti observed: (1956:144) "the *Ātatavitata* which is a combination of *Ātata* and *Vitata* must refer to some combination instrument like the *Tantipatahikā* or stringed drum." This view is supported by literary references to various kinds of *Vinas* that were used in the past, though they are no more in the tradition. What is happening today under the name *Hewisi puja* (homage of the drums) is that an instrument from each of the above five is taken to compose the five instruments which produce five different sounds. For example, *Tammāṭṭama* (double kettle drum) *Dawula* (cylindrical drum), *Tālampota* (cymbal), *Horunāwa* (temple oboe) with the *Gāṭabere* or the *Maṅgulbere* (auspicious drum), is played in the *Vihāras* or the Buddhist Temples and in the Devalas or the Deistic Shrines in the Kandyan areas and *Yak bere* (Devil drum) along with the other four types played in those places of worship in the Low country coastal areas in Sri Lanka, thus composing the *Pañcatūryanāda*.

TIMING AND RHYTHM

For the Hindus, music and dance are means of religious expression. They believe that music and dance have a divine origin. Even the Sinhalese choose to think that their music and dance in Folk Rituals are divine in origin. This becomes apparent when they speak about the origin of timing and rhythm in dance forms as well as in drumming. Their beliefs about the sounds of various folk musical instruments have much to do with Hindu mythology. For instance, they believe that the drum had its birth from the mouth of *Brahma*, timing from his teeth, and song from his tongue (Sedaraman, 1959: 27). The traditional artists think that timing had its origin in the Dance of *Shiva* and *Uma*. This refers to the Hindu mythology of *Shivatāṇḍava* dance. We cannot, however, ascertain that the timing and rhythm of the Sinhalese drum beats are the same as in India. The timing of the Sinhalese drum beats is known as the *tit* system and differs very much from the above. There are five basic syllables of drum beats known as *tat*, *jit*, *ton*, *nan*, *ta* and they are called *Pancatāla*. To each of these there are a number of Vattams or cycles (of drumming).

According to tradition, the Sinhalese rhythm system consists of 216 fundamentals. This is enumerated in the following verses.

Tis Dekak Tālam-Sū Sāṭak pamaṇa Saudam
Visi ekak Suralim-Gāsū pasalos vandamānam

Solosak dākum at-Sat visi poḍi sural at
Satalis ada padat-Gāsū me rāṅgum desiya solasak.

(Sedaraman, 1968: 24)

This verse means that the rhythms consist of 32 *Tālam*s or rhythmic time measures, 64 *Saudam* or varieties of drum beats in Salutation to Gods, 21 *Sural* or elaborations, 27 *Poḍi Sural* or rhythmic subdivisions, 15 *Vandamānam* or narratives to be played and sung as offering to Buddha, 16 *Dākum At* or drum beat pieces played in the presence of a God or the King in the form of salutation, 40 *Aḍapada* or forty half beats.

There is a slightly different version of the above:

Pañcatālaya da nāṭum saha Vaṭṭam satarada tit sati nā
Rāgam detisa da siviṣi sarambe da solosa dākum at pada rāge nā
Suralim visieka adau detisa saudam tisdeka atātālaga nā
Daha aṭa vannam avadānam aṭa desiya solos bedaya sādunā

(Sedaraman, 1959: 36)

According to this version the system of rhythm consists of 5 *Tālas* or rhythms, 9 *Nāṭum* or dance forms, 4 *Vaṭṭams* or cycles of drum beats or stresses, 32 *Ragas* or tunes 24 Sarambas or exercises, 16 *Dākum At* or drum beats played in the presence of a God or the King in the form of Salutations, 21 *Surals* or elaborations, 32 *Adaus* or basic dance step patterns, 32 *Saudams* or drum beats taken on 8 different rhythms, 18 *Vannams* or descriptions, 8 *Avadānams* or drum beats played in the presence of the King, added together composing 216 fundamentals.

The rules of drumming in both up country and low country Sinhalese traditions were originally in Sanskrit which later changed owing to oral transmission by non-literate artists. How much it was changed is evident by the different ways the local artists interpret these 32 *tālam*s.

As a result of this, some scholars now think that 32 *talam*s referred to above are nothing but the 32 poetical meters. In the past there had been a number of works on the rhythm systems written especially during the 17th and 18th centuries. Among them are *Vādāṅkusaya*, *Ratnālankāraya*, *Nertamālā Nṛtya Upata* and *Svarangamālā*. Of these works some are still available. But it has to be said that a number of *Guruparamparās* or teacher traditions are still preserved in *Ola* (palm leaf) manuscripts containing the *Sāstra* or the Science of Dance.

HEWISI

The so called *Hēwisi* drumming is also known as *Sabda Puja* or the offering of the sounds. The main instruments used in *Hēwisi* drumming are

the *Dawula* or the cylindrical drum, *Tammāṭṭama* the double kettle drum, and *Horanāwa* or the temple oboe, and sometimes accompanied by *Maṅgul bere* or the *Gāṭabere*, the auspicious drum in the Kandyan tradition, or the *Yakberē*, the devil drum in the low country tradition. Though this offering of sounds is made in the daily services of the Buddhist temples, a special place to witness this ritual would be the Temple of the Sacred Tooth-Relic (Daladā Māliḡawa) in Kandy (Seneviratna, 1975: 21-24). There, one has the opportunity to listen to a variety of drum beats during the services customarily performed thrice a day; in the early morning, midday and the evening. These three services are called *Aluyam durē* (early morning service), *Dahawal Pūjāwa* or *Mādiyam dure* (mid-day service) and *Handā dure* (evening service). Among the weekly rituals performed, *Nanumura Mangalle* (bathing or anointing ceremony) is interesting for its variety of drum beats offered in honor of the sacred Tooth-Relic. They are *Nānumura Pade* (beat for the anointing ceremony), *Ālattipadē* (beat played for the waving of the light) and *Vaṭa hēwisi* (outer circle drumming). During the daily rituals, drum beats such as *Tēwāpade* (service beat); *Maṅgul berē* (auspicious drum beat) *Gaman hēwisi* (marshal beat) can be heard. It is also interesting to hear the weekly drumming in connection with the four phases of the moon called *Hatara Poya*. These weekly offerings of the drums are known as *Poya Hēwisi*. During the colorful *Āsala* pageant (Seneviratna, 1977) which takes place annually during the month of July/August, one would again have the opportunity of listening to a variety of drum beats such as *Gaman hēwisi* in a number of styles. *Valinaḍe hēwisi* (cycles of drumming belonging to the fivefold drumming), *Aṁbarā hēwisi* (beat played at the tunnel entrance to the Maligawa), *Hēwisi pahē hēwisi* (five rhythmic drumming) etc. Though it is not customarily performed today, the *Tuntispāyē Poya hēwisi* (drumming continued for one and a half days) is interesting for its art, elegance and beauty. It is in this ritual that a large number of traditional drum beats are played on each instrument and they are differently named: *Bera Hewisi* (cylindrical drum beats) *Davul hewisi* (kettle drum beats) *Horanā hēwisi* (oboe music) *Hakgeḍi hēwisi* (conch music) *Maṅgul bera hēwisi* (auspicious drum beats) (Sedaraman, 1966). In addition to these, special drum beats played during the ceremonies of the first offering of new rice after harvest known as *Avurudu Mangalle*, and the feast of lights in November known as *Kārtika Mangalle* are worth mentioning.

These offerings of the sounds are found in various minor Buddhist temples and deistic shrines as well. For example, a special beat is played at *Pirit* chanting ceremonies or chanting of the Sacred scriptures, and for an invitation to a *Baṇa* Sermon. In the diestic shrines, *Āddumpada gahana hēwisi* (drum beats which have a dragging style), and *Multān Mangalle* (ceremony in connection with the offerings of meals to Gods and deities) are two occasions where one could hear another variety of drum beats. The *Dēvāles* have their

independent *Hēwisi* known as *Kemmura Hēwisi* to be played on Wednesdays, Thursdays and sometimes on Saturdays, which are days for worship.

GURU PARAMPARA

Many traditional families of drummers can be found scattered over the central region of Sri Lanka. Among the noted families well versed in the Art of *Dawul* drumming are the families of Udupihille of Matale, Wallagiriya of Hewahata, Ihlawela of Gohagoda, Punchinawa of Hapugoda, Molagoda, Maladanda, Otanna of Uduwela, Godampitiya and Telipaha. For *Tammāṭṭam* drumming the noted families are the Yakawele of Harispattuwa, Kondadeniya, Ridigama, and Algama. For *Gāṭabera* they are families such as Kiri Ukkuwa Gurunnanse of Gadaladeniya, Suramba Gurunnanse of Gunnepana, and Polambegoda Gurunnanse of Mawanella. These family traditions are often referred to by their place names because they maintain distinct styles of playing. Accordingly, these traditions are named such as Hat Korale Paramparawa (tradition of the Hatkorale in the Kurunagala district), Hatarakorale Paramparawa (tradition of the four *Korales* of the Kegalle district) etc.

When all the veteran *gurus* (teachers) get together to perform the homage of the drums, there is a method by which they take the pride of place among them. That is, for example, if the ritual is performed within the city of Kandy, the chief drummers (Panikkayas) of the Temple of the Sacred Tooth Relic must be the leaders. If the ritual is performed outside the city, the chief of the tradition of that particular area should be given pride of place or, in the absence of such a one, the next senior person of the group shall be elected the leader.

CUSTOMS

The place where the *Hēwisi pūjā* is performed should be gaily decorated with four water pots (kalas) placed on the four quarters and four lighted lamps. A separate flower hut (malpāla) should be erected for the deity in charge of the village generally known as *Gambāra deyyo*. It is also customary to have a flower-betal tray (mal-bulat-taṭṭuwa) for the Goddess of earth (Sriya Kantha). In this tray they keep a comb, mirror, some betal flowers, sandal, few coins, etc. Near this tray a mat is placed on the floor and spread with uncooked rice some betal is kept to one side. Eight auspicious signs (Atamagala or Astamangala) are drawn in the rice. This practice is observed on all occasions such as in a *Bali*, a ritual worship of the planets; a harvesting festival, when erecting a new building or during a wedding ceremony.

A *Hēwisi Pūjā* performed in honor of the Triple gem (Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha) and the deities customarily starts with the observing of the five

precepts. After paying homage to the Triple gem, they chant *Aṣṭakas*, *Sāhāli*, and *Cūṛnikās* in order to ensure the blessings of all Gods. After this propitiation, they blow the conch (*hakgediya*) thrice followed by three cycles of *Mangul bera* or auspicious drumming. Once the first cycle is over two *dawul* and *tammāttam* players get together and start playing the *Tēwāpade* or the service beat which is as follows:

Dawula Jenga Jegaṭa Jega Jen
Tammattamma Jen kiṭi kiṭitaka

This is again followed by the second cycle of *Mangul bere* and *Tewapade* and concluded by the third cycle. Thus the same *Tewapade* is beaten thrice following the three cycles of *Mangul bere*. Once this is completed, a *Hēwisi* beat is played to suit the time of commencement of the *Hēwisi* ritual; for example if the commencement takes place in the morning, the *Aluyamdure* (early morning service) beat is played and it is midday, the *Dahaval-pūja padē*, or if it is in the evening, the *Hāndā dure* or the evening service beat is played. Now is the time for the commencement of the *Hēwisi puja*. Here the drummers start playing a rhythm called the *Cāritra Hēwisi* or customary beat which runs as follows.

Tammāttama Kittak krudegak kittak—krudega krudega kiṭa krudegak kittak—
 krudega
Dawula Jega jega jen

Once this is over they start to beat the drums in homage. They go round making a circle to the beat of the *Mātrā pita hēwisi* (beat on syllabics) and begin the *Walnade Hēwisiya* with two on each side or in groups. Here they exhibit their talent by using various rhythmic beats, after which they begin to play rhythms such as *Talam*, *Saudam*, *Vandamanam* and *Dakum At*, to the beat of two or three stresses or *tits*. They beat rhythms meant for narration and in turn, these narrations are beaten on the drums. While the drumming is going on, the oboe player blows various tunes such as *Aṣṭakas*, *Gejjamuḍa* and *Slokas*. The four main rhythms out of the thirty-two are beaten. Of the *Saudams*, drum beats in homage to Brahma, Visnu, Ishvara, Natha, Kandaswami, Saksura, Viramunda, Kadawara, Kalukumara and others can be heard. This custom of paying homage to gods and deities may have found its way into the Buddhist tradition through the influence of Hindu *Dēvāla* tradition. In this homage of drums, competitions among the drummers can be observed as it is the platform for them to exhibit their talents in the art of drumming and dancing they have mastered.

While a ritual like *Kohom̐bā Kankāriya* (a hill country dance ritual) is an occasion for the dancers to exhibit their talents, the *hēwisi pūjā* is the opportunity afforded to the traditional drummer to display his skill in the art. This homage of drums which invokes the blessings of the Divinity, is intended

to procure the well being, prosperity and protection of all. The ritual, which sometimes lasts for one and a half days, sees its finale with the thanksgiving; that is, the bestowing of merits on gods by the artists who took part in the ritual. This is performed by beating a special rhythm known as *Pūja pade* (homage beat).

CONCLUSION

The above ceremony which is unique by itself can in no way be compared with any Hindu rituals performed in the neighboring India. The complex, but rhythmic drum beats of the ritual itself speak the rich musical heritage of the country to which little or no attention has hitherto been drawn by the scholar for serious study.

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TWELVE NASCA PANPIPES: A STUDY

Joerg Haeberli

INTRODUCTION

Faithful production of sound, as originally intended, is achieved with instruments that have not undergone any significant change since their construction. Instruments made of clay or stone meet this requirement of preservation over long periods. The dry climate prevalent on the Peruvian coast has preserved fragile textiles and also musical instruments (found among the contents of graves). Museum and private collections retain such artifacts, and panpipes made by craftsmen of the Nasca culture have been preserved in sufficient numbers for comparative studies.

Studies covering Nasca panpipes were reviewed by Stevenson (1968:245-255). The pentatonic scale originally postulated for the Precolumbian period in what today is Peru has recently been questioned. About one-third of the samples covered in two investigations were labeled twins, or pairs, such as those on Moche vase paintings from the North Coast, which frequently show two panpipes linked by a cord. Dawson (1964) demonstrated slip casting to be the technique used by craftsmen of the Paracas and Nasca cultures of the Peruvian South Coast for producing pipes for panpipes.

Essentially all the published pitch data pertaining to Nasca panpipes are expressed in Western notation with plus and minus signs to denote deviation from the written pitches. It was intended that the present study would use this information to determine the scale system used for the tuning of these instruments, but this plan was abandoned when results differing from the ones using frequency measurements were arrived at by using Western notation for the instruments to be described below.

The purpose of this study is to describe twelve Nasca panpipes, to present tonometric measurements, and to analyze the determined frequency intervals in order to establish the scale system intended for the tuning of these panpipes.

DESCRIPTION OF PANPIPES

Twelve Early Intermediate Period (400 B.C. to 600 A.D.) ceramic panpipes from the Peruvian South Coast were investigated. One instrument is

in a private collection (JH), ten are at the Museum of the American Indian (MAI), and one is in the collection of the Peabody Museum (PM). The Peabody Museum specimen is said to be from Palpa. None of the other pieces has any site identification.

All of these instruments make use of pipes stopped at one end. Two types of pipe can be discerned. A pipe of uniform diameter, except for slight narrowing just before the blow-hole, characterizes one type (MAI 11/2564, 11/2563, 16/9703, 16/8978, 16/9701, 16/1879, 16/9702, and 19/9192), while pipes made from two sections differing in diameter constitute the other type (JH, PM 41-17-30/2882, MAI 14/9686 and 21/2271). The complex tubes have a narrower lower portion of uniform diameter; the upper section is wider and tapers slightly toward the blow-hole, which is ovoid to circular in shape. This contrasts with the elliptical to trapezoidal shape of the opening of the simple, straight tubes. Slip casting was most likely used to fashion the tubes, with walls about one mm. thick. The panpipes were built by sticking the tubes together, in decreasing or increasing size; clay was added on the outside for joining.

Instruments with six, seven, eight, and ten tubes are represented. All pipes were inspected for damage or retention of sand or grit and were cleaned if necessary. The inside tube length and blow-hole dimensions are listed in Table 1. Three of the panpipes with complex tubes are rather triangular in shape (JH, MAI 14/9686, 21/2271) due to bending of the pipes mainly at the junction of the two sections. The pipes of the remaining instruments are

TABLE 1

Inside length of pipes for 12 Nasca panpipes. The blow-hole dimensions are given first horizontal and second perpendicular to the direction the pipes were joined. Defective pipes are indicated by d.

Panpipe identification	Inside length of pipe, mm										Blow-hole diameter mm
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
JH	202	167	147	132	115	105	92				13, 11
PM 41-17-30/2882	399	347	307	275	244	219	194				12, 8
MAI 21/2271	d	133	115	99	86	76	67				11, 10
MAI 14/9686	208	174	143	138	115	99	85	73	66	61	12, 9
MAI 19/9192	d	81	62	50	45	39					7, 5
MAI 16/9702	285	225	186	157	135	117	108	95			9, 7
MAI 16/9703	d	166	135	116	97	85	73	65			9, 5
MAI 16/8978	106	84	67	56	43	37	31	d			7, 5
MAI 16/1879	110	80	65	56	48	42	30	28			6, 5
MAI 11/2563	276	220	178	146	130	108	93	85	70	60	9, 6
MAI 11/2564	139	111	90	72	64	54	47	42	35	30	8, 7
MAI 16/9701	557	445	355	288	256	211	186	166	139	122	10, 6

straight, thus imparting the typical syrinx shape. All four instruments with complex pipes were bored for two string holes. The exterior surfaces of all twelve instruments were rubbed smooth, polished to a gloss, and slip painted.

Dawson has divided Nasca style ceramics into nine phases based on seriation studies (Proulx 1965, 1968). Two of the panpipes can be dated based on their painted decoration, one with a mythical being to the Nasca 2 phase (JH), the other with a warrior to the Nasca 7 phase (PM). Seven of the instruments have simple geometric designs (MAI 11/2564, 11/2563, 16/1879, 16/8978, 16/9701, 16/9703, 16/9702), which complicates assigning a phase, while three have no decoration at all (MAI 11/2564, 21/2271, 19/9192). The relationship between instruments with equal coloring and decoration (MAI 11/2563, 11/2564, 16/9701 and 16/9703, 16/8978), in the absence of provenience and excavation information, is unknown. The panpipes cover a time span of about 600 years.

There are noteworthy relationships between the three ten-tube panpipes that have equal coloring and decoration but differ in size. Instrument MAI 16/9701 is the largest of the three, panpipe MAI 11/2564 the smallest. The relationship between inside lengths of corresponding pipes is 1.0:2.0:4.0 (from smallest to largest instrument). The frequency difference between corresponding pipes is close to one octave, but slightly flat, particularly for the smaller pipes. The significance of panpipe decoration and of instrument pairs (identified as such through archaeological context) for understanding the relationships between pipes will have to await future studies.

DETERMINATION OF PIPE FREQUENCIES

During our tests, the pipes were made to speak by mouth blowing. Efforts were made to hold constant the angle of application of the panpipe to the lips, the relative position of the upper lip, and the intensity of blowing across the blow-hole. Tape recordings were made with a Nagra IV with a 60-cycle mains-derived pilot tone, and the fundamental frequency component of each pipe was measured with a stroboscopic frequency meter (Stroboconn 6T5). The same reading on the stroboscopic frequency meter over several measurements was taken as the pipe frequency. The arithmetic mean of the difference between live and taped stroboscopic frequency meter readings was 1%. The frequency measurements for the pipes of the twelve panpipes are shown in Table 2. The overblown first harmonic of the longest pipe to speak well was also determined. The frequency readings of all pipes were measured live except for those of one panpipe (PM). These were obtained while playing back the tape on the same Nagra IV, synchronizing its speed by an internal resolver referencing the pilot tone against a 60-cycle mains signal. The output

TABLE 2

Frequencies of pipes for 12 Nasca panpipes. The pipes are numbered in decreasing pipe length, 1 being the longest. Defective pipes are indicated by d. The frequency of the overblown first harmonic (OFH) for the first pipe to speak well is given and the pipe is identified by a bracket.

Panpipe identification	Frequency of pipe, Hz.										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	OFH
JH	[527.2]	628.8	709.0	785.8	926.4	1024	1119				1017
PM 41-17-30/2882	292.8	331.0	[368.9]	411.7	458.9	501.4	564.4				748
MAI 21/2271	d	[801.8]	932.3	1064	1216	1371	d				1566
MAI 14/9686	[526.0]	625.5	751.6	764.3	927.5	1063	1193	1391	1486	1629	1001
MAI 19/9192	d	480.7	610.1	728.5	798.6	883.1					
MAI 16/1879	723.9	939.9	1135	1353	1538	1770	1995	d			
MAI 16/9702	[277.5]	394.2	421.6	497.9	569.2	655.5	707.8	d			830
MAI 16/9703	d	[496.5]	601.1	710.7	829.2	940.4	1072	1209			1470
MAI 16/8978	[764.3]	913.1	1159.2	1381	1584	1760	1972	d			2246
MAI 11/2563	[293.7]	369.6	445.4	536.4	603.1	718.1	805.1	882.5	1054	1224	888
MAI 11/2564	[574.6]	702.9	880.0	1054	1188	1392	1577	1692	1916	2217	1752
MAI 16/9701	144.5	[180.8]	225.1	278.6	316.7	378.0	432.9	479.8	570.9	642.3	547

was processed through a band-pass filter to remove extraneous sounds and all but the fundamental frequency component.

ACOUSTICAL PROPERTIES OF PIPES

The acoustical properties of the complex pipes differ significantly from those of simple ones. For the latter the ratio of the frequency of the first overblown harmonic to the frequency of the fundamental is as expected about 3:1 (Backus 1969:63-64). For the complex pipes the ratio is about 2:1. The frequencies of the complex pipes are, on the average, 32% higher than would be expected from calculations based on the pipe length. The shape of complex pipes is unusual; its origin and reason for use, except for giving the octave of the fundamental as the first overblown harmonic, is unknown but suggests experimentation. Complex or segmented pipes appear on the South Coast of Peru at the end of Paracas (Phase 10), the culture that preceded Nasca, and after the introduction of slip-cast simple pipes (Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson 1964:226-227, 254). The segmented type of pipe disappears towards the end of the Nasca culture.

For simple pipes, calculation of frequencies using the equation $L = (C/4F) - 0.61R$ (where L is the inside pipe length, C the speed of sound and R the radius of the pipe) gives results that tend to be about 9% lower than measurements made with the stroboscopic frequency meter. It is believed that fine tuning of slip-cast pipes was achieved through narrowing and shaping of the blow hole. The study of Nasca scales using pipe length only, therefore, can not be recommended.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PIPES

Analysis of scales generally is accomplished by comparing the intervals in cents between frequencies. These intervals tend either to be equal or to fluctuate widely but discretely to form specific patterns that characterize various scales. The frequency intervals in cents for the twelve panpipes are shown in Table 3. Two kinds of patterns are discerned. Two instruments (PM 41-17-30/2882, MAI 21/2271) have all intervals except one of similar magnitude, namely close to a whole tone. The pattern of intervals that characterizes pentatonic scales forms part of the sequence of intervals of two panpipes (JH, MAI 16/9701). The frequency of occurrence of intervals in cents between the various pipes for each of the twelve panpipes is shown in Figure 1. Intervals close to the fifth, major third, minor third, and major second occur beside ratios uncommon to Western scales, while the fourth is

TABLE 3

Intervals in cents for 12 Nasca panpipes. The intervals are numbered according to decreasing pipe length, 1 being the interval between the longest and second longest pipe. Intervals influenced by defective pipes are shown by a d. The interval between overblown first harmonic and fundamental for the first pipe to speak well shown in Table 2 is given by OFH.

Panpipe identification	Frequency interval, cents									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	OFH
JH	305	208	178	285	173	154				1137
PM 41-17-30/2882	212	188	190	188	153	205				1223
MAI 21/2271	d	261	229	231	208	d				1169
MAI 14/9686	300	318	29	335	239	200	266	114	150	1114
MAI 19/9192	d	394	307	159	175					
MAI 16/1879	452	323	304	222	243	207	d			
MAI 16/9702	398	326	288	232	244	133	d			1897
MAI 16/9703	d	439	331	290	267	218	227	208		1881
MAI 16/8978	308	413	303	238	182	197	d			1866
MAI 11/2563	398	323	322	203	302	198	159	307	260	1815
MAI 11/2564	349	389	313	207	274	216	122	215	253	1930
MAI 16/9701	388	380	369	222	306	235	178	301	240	1924

Frequency of occurrence

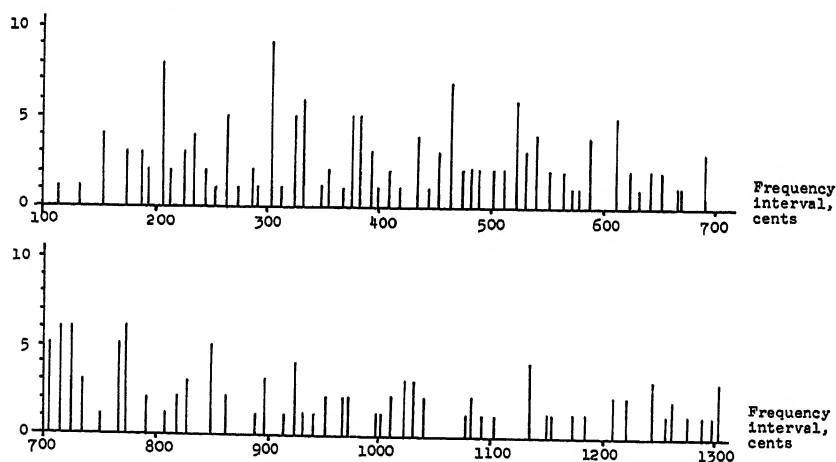


Figure 1. The frequency of occurrence of intervals in cents between the various pipes for each of the 12 panpipes.

absent. No simple frequency pattern is evident. This prompted the search for a system of structuring and correlating frequency intervals that is common to all or most of the panpipes under study.

Cursory comparison of pipe frequencies reveals that some frequencies are very close. Table 4 lists six sets of three frequencies each. In each set the three frequencies do not differ amongst each other by more than 7 Hz. The arithmetic mean for each set of frequencies is also shown in Table 4 together with the frequency differences between two, three, and four of the average frequencies. These differences are multiples. The smallest common denominator giving the best fit is 44 Hz. This approach was extended to all measured frequencies. In Table 5 the pipe frequencies were arranged according to an interval of about 44 Hz. and the average frequencies—that is, the arithmetic mean of equivalent pipe frequencies—are also shown. The average frequency of 714 Hz., a frequency that occurs 7 times among the 12 instruments, was selected as tonic to calculate which frequency interval close to 44 Hz. gave the best result in building a scale fitting most closely the average frequencies. The interval of 43 Hz. gave the best fit. The average difference between measured and calculated frequencies is 10 Hz. What has emerged is a scale system apparently common to all 12 panpipes, based on frequency intervals of 43 Hz. or multiples thereof. The interval of 12.7 Hz. (29 cents) between the third and fourth pipe of instrument MAI 14/9686 is not believed to be a microtone. The two pipes are suspected to be equivalent based on the Nasca frequency series shown in Table 5. If it is assumed to be an error in the assembly of

TABLE 4

Frequency intervals in Hz. between six sets of three frequencies each. The frequencies of each set do not differ amongst each other by more than 7 Hz. From the frequency intervals the following averages were obtained: 46, 82, 129, 173, 220, and 307.

Panpipe frequencies	Average frequency	Frequency intervals from averages between		
		two frequencies	three frequencies	four frequencies
496, 498, 501	498			
		74		
569, 571, 575	572		211	
		132		304
708, 709, 711	709		230	
		93		310
798, 802, 805	802		173	
		80		219
880, 882, 883	882		126	
		46		
926, 927, 932	928			

TABLE 5
Arrangement of pipe frequencies based on intervals of about 44 Hz. between notes as established with the results in Table 4,
arithmetic mean of pipe frequencies for each note to give the average pipe frequency and pipe frequency
calculated for each note based on a tonic of 714 Hz. and frequency intervals of 43 Hz.

Pipe Frequency, Herz													
	MAI 11/2563	PM	MAI 16/9702	MAI 16/9703	JH	MAI 14/9686	MAI 11/2564	MAI 19/9192	MAI 16/8978	MAI 21/2271	MAI 16/1879	Average Pipe Frequency, Hz.	Calculated Pipe Frequency, Hz.
145												145	155
181												181	198
225												225	241
279	294	293	277									286	284
317		331										324	327
378	370	367	349									366	370
		412	421									416	413
433	445	459										446	456
480		501	498	496				481				491	499
	536				527	526						530	542
571		564	569	601	629	625	575	610				576	585
642	603											622	628
			655									655	671
	718		708	711	709	752, 764	702	728	764	724		714	714
					786							760	757
	805							798	802			798	800
				829			880	883				829	843
	882											882	886

1054	940	926	927	913	932	940	930	929
		1024	1063		1064		1024	972
	1072	1119					1061	1015
				1159		1135	1119	1058
							1147	1101
							1190	1144
			1193		1216		1216	1187
1224	1209							1230
								1273
								1316
						1353	1353	1359
			1301	1381	1371		1384	1402
			1486				1486	1445
						1538	1538	1488
				1584			1580	1531
			1629				1629	1574
								1617
								1660
							1692	1703
			1692	1760		1770	1760	1746
							1770	1789
								1832
								1875
							1916	1918
			1916	1972			1972	1961
					1995		1995	2004
								2047
								2090
								2133
								2176
							2217	2219
			2217					

pipes then fine tuning of pipes prior to assembly of pipes would be indicated. This leads to the question of tuning of pipes.

TUNING OF PIPES

It stands to reason that the accuracy of tuning panpipes must be better than the deviations or differences to be expected from activating the pipes by mouth blowing. This raises some questions: what deviations can be expected when blowing pipes by mouth, and what differences can be distinguished by the human ear?

The difference of 21 cents (the syntonic comma) can be recognized in two pitches played in succession. Out of context the distinctiveness of the difference is perceived as the same whole distinct tone (Levarie and Levy 1968:202-203). Up to 1000 Herz, the human ear can discriminate a difference of about 3 Hz. (Backus 1969:113). At 300 and 1000 Hz. this corresponds to a difference of 17 and 5 cents, respectively. Differences in the conditions used in activating pipes by mouth blowing, such as variations in the angle of application, relative position of upper lip, and intensity of blowing, cause fluctuations of 20-100 cents, but mainly up to about 40 cents (Bukofzer 1936). One may conclude that tuning of panpipe pipes to within 20 cents is adequate. This corresponds to a deviation of up to 20% from the semitone, the smallest step in the tempered scale. In a scale system based on equal frequency intervals in Herz the cents system is of little value, so by analogy a deviation of 20% from the basic step is taken to be an error in tuning to be expected.

A glance at Table 5 reveals that most pipe frequencies occur more than once; 51% of the listed frequencies occur on four to seven instruments. It is reasonable to assume that in each instance a particular note within a scale was intended. The difference between measured frequency and corresponding average frequency is some measure of the accuracy of tuning. The majority of the pipe frequencies—that is, 62% of the sample—deviate from the average frequencies by less than 10 Hz., shown by the results in Table 6. Similar deviations, of about 8 Hz., from the average frequencies are found at lower and higher frequencies (Table 7). I conclude that tuning of panpipe pipes by Nasca craftsmen to within 8 Hz. was desired and 14 Hz. strived for.

SCALE SYSTEMS

The above results show that all 12 panpipes could have been tuned to a scale system based on equal frequency intervals, while two instruments could

TABLE 6

Accuracy of tuning of panpipes as indicated by the distribution of deviations of pipe frequencies from the average pipe frequencies for frequencies that occur on 4 to 7 panpipes.

Deviation in Hz. from average frequency	Distribution in percent of deviation
0-4	29
5-9	33
10-14	28
15-19	6
20-24	2
25-29	2

TABLE 7

Accuracy of tuning of pipes at different frequencies as indicated by the arithmetic mean of deviations from the average frequency for frequencies that occur on 4 to 7 panpipes.

Average frequency in Hz.	Number of pipes	Arithmetic mean of deviation in Hz.
286	4	8
366	4	9
491	5	9
576	5	10
622	5	10
714	7	8
798	4	6
930	6	7
1061	5	6
1384	4	8

possibly have been tuned to a scale with equal intervals in cents (PM 41-17-30/2882, MAI 21/2271) and two panpipes partially to a pentatonic scale (JH, MAI 16/9701). A scale with equal frequency intervals in Hz. between notes will be called "arithmetic" in contrast to the logarithmic scale with equal intervals in cents. (This terminology was adopted from Ellis [1965], whose work on choral music in central Australia also revealed scales based on equal frequency steps.)

It was assumed that the smaller the error or difference between measured frequencies and those demanded by a scale system, the more likely that the scale was intended by the panpipe builder. A computer program was developed to calculate the smallest average difference (\bar{d}) between measured

pipe frequencies and frequencies calculated according to the two equations given below. The relationship between ascending frequencies in the arithmetic and the logarithmic system is given by $F_n = F_0 + K_n$ and $F_n = F_0 K^n$, respectively, where F_0 is the tonic, keytone, or ground frequency, F_n is the frequency of the n th tone, and K is a constant specific to the scale and scale system. The equation for the logarithmic scale system is an extension of the equation $a^{12} = 2$ given by Backus (1969:128) for describing the scale with 12 equal steps in cents over the octave. The magnitude of the ratio of differences d_1/d_a was found to indicate the kind of scale system. Values of less than 0.3 denote a tempered scale, greater than 1.0 an arithmetic scale. Values between 0.3 and 0.7 are typical of scales where the differences between degrees in cents fluctuate but by discrete intervals, as for example, with the just diatonic or enharmonic pentatonic scale. Similar ratios are expected irrespective of the frequency selected as tonic. The values listed in Table 8 for the 12 panpipes and three Western scales are the arithmetic mean of three ratios obtained by selecting three consecutive frequencies as tonic. The results show that seven panpipes were definitely and four were probably tuned to an arithmetic scale. The only panpipe with a ratio d_1/d_a value smaller than 1.0 is instrument PM 41-17-30/2882. What has emerged is the use of an arithmetic scale during Nasca times.

TABLE 8

Ratio of smallest differences d_1/d_a calculated for 12 Nasca panpipes and 3 Western scales. The ratio shown is the arithmetic mean of the ratios obtained using 3 consecutive frequencies as tonic. The standard deviation is also given. The results for panpipe MAI 14/9686 are based on the fourth and subsequent pipes only.

Panpipe or Scale	Ratio d_1/d_a	Standard deviation
MAI 16/1879	6.0	4.3
MAI 16/9702	5.4	1.4
MAI 16/8978	3.6	0.4
MAI 16/9701	3.3	0.9
MAI 11/2564	3.2	1.7
MAI 11/2563	2.9	0.4
MAI 14/9686	2.7	1.0
MAI 16/9703	2.0	0.2
MAI 21/2271	1.9	1.5
JH	1.5	0.3
MAI 19/9192	1.4	0.7
PM 41-17-30/2882	0.5	0.1
Just diatonic	0.56	0.03
Pentatonic, anhemitonic	0.56	0.04
Tempered	0.14	0.02

LIMITATIONS OF ASSIGNMENT OF SCALE SYSTEMS

The Peabody Museum instrument raises the question of how easy it is to distinguish whether a series of frequencies is tuned to a logarithmic or an arithmetic scale system. The frequencies determined for the Peabody Museum panpipe and the corresponding frequencies of the Nasca arithmetic scale and the logarithmic scale with six steps over an octave are shown for comparison in Table 9. For the logarithmic scale two series of frequencies are given. One is based on 200-cent intervals, using the Nasca scale frequency of 284 Hz. as tonic. The other one is based on the smallest average d calculated with the computer program, using the pipe-frequency of 293 Hz. as tonic and giving a basic step interval of 190 cents. The arithmetic mean of the differences in Hz. and cents between the four series of frequencies is also given. The differences are, as an average, in the range of 3 to 10 Hz. It was shown above that tuning deviations or errors for the Nasca pipes of about 8 to 14 Hz. must be expected. The Peabody Museum panpipe therefore could equally well have

TABLE 9

Comparison between the frequencies determined for panpipe PM 41-17-30/2882, the Nasca arithmetic scale and the logarithmic scale with intervals or steps of 200 cents and 190 cents. The arithmetic mean and standard deviation of frequency differences in Hz. and cents between the 4 series of frequencies are given.

Panpipe	Nasca scale	Logarithmic scale	
		200-cent steps	190-cent steps
293	284	284	293
331	327	319	327
367	370	358	365
412	413	402	407
459	456	451	454
501	499	506	507
564	542	568	566
<div> <div> 0 — 6 ± 7 Herz — 0 </div> <div> 26 ± 25 cents </div> </div> <div> <div> 0 — 10 ± 8 Herz — 0 </div> <div> 39 ± 27 cents </div> </div> <div> <div> 0 — 10 ± 6 Herz — 0 </div> <div> 37 ± 19 cents </div> </div> <div> <div> 0 — 8 ± 8 Herz — 0 </div> <div> 30 ± 26 cents </div> </div> <div> <div> 0 — 3 ± 2 Herz — 0 </div> <div> 14 ± 9 cents </div> </div>			

been tuned to a logarithmic or an arithmetic scale. It is tempting to believe that a transition in scale occurred during late Nasca times, but such a conclusion is premature until additional Nasca instruments with a ratio of differences d_1/d_a less than 1.0 can be located. The Peabody Museum panpipe is suspected not to be unique. It illustrates that even with tonometric measurements it may not be easy to establish the scale system used to tune an instrument, because of uncertainties such as tuning and measuring errors.

THE NASCA ARITHMETIC SCALE

The series of calculated pipe frequencies shown in Table 5, when compared to the tempered scale, reveals that between 554 Hz. ($C\sharp_5$) and 988 Hz. (B_5) there is for every note in one series a note in the other series, although the frequencies do not match. Below 554 Hz. there are two or more notes in the tempered scale for every note in the Nasca arithmetic scale. Conversely, there are two or more notes in the Nasca arithmetic scale for every note in the tempered scale for frequencies higher than 988 Hz. As a consequence, only at frequencies lower than about 554 Hz. can one express adequately the Nasca scale in Western notation. The series $-D\sharp_3$, $+G_3$, $-B_3$, $+C\sharp_4$, $-E_4$, $F\sharp_4$ and $-G\sharp_4$ approximates the Nasca scale with 43 Hz. intervals between notes. The average and maximum deviation is 21 cents and 47 cents for B_3 , respectively. The direction of deviation from the tempered scale is given by a plus or minus sign. Harmonic possibilities are not excluded with the above series.

Adding 18 Hz. to the double of any frequency will give another frequency in the Nasca scale. As a consequence, only at frequencies greater than about 500 Hz. do octave intervals with errors smaller than 30 cents emerge. Two of the three ten-tube instruments with simple pipes (MAI 11/2564, 11/2563) cover the interval of two octaves. These results, combined with the ratio of about 2:1 between the frequency of the first overblown harmonic and the frequency of the fundamental for panpipes with complex pipes, suggest familiarity with the octave. Its significance is not clear, except that in the arithmetic scale the number of steps in one octave doubles in the next higher one. Any note can become a tonic and will determine the number of steps in the octave.

The results indicate that the Nasca scale is based on a frequency interval of about 43 Hz. or multiples thereof in various combinations. Higher multiples tend to occur at higher frequencies. This is not surprising since intervals in cents gradually become smaller when ascending in a scale with equal frequency steps. The literature makes reference to microtones at higher frequencies (Stevenson 1968:254). These arise if the basic interval or a low-number

multiple enters the scale at higher frequencies. The smallest interval at higher frequencies in the sample under study is the double of the basic step observed in the frequency series of the panpipe MAI 14/9686.

THE FIFTH IN THE NASCA ARITHMETIC SCALE

The fifth has a special place in Western and in the widely dispersed pentatonic scales, and is said to have been used for the tuning of panpipes (Hornbostel 1927:430-31). Intervals close to a fifth occur among all panpipes under study. They cover the range from 660 cents to 740 cents, but mainly slightly above 700 cents as is evident from Figure 1. This differs from the 678 cents predicted by von Hornbostel's "Blasquinten" theory. It can be shown that intervals of 700 ± 30 cents occur in the Nasca arithmetic scale at frequencies greater than 327 Hz. when the interval covers at least four steps. The number of steps required to cover the fifth becomes greater at higher frequencies in the Nasca scale. The distribution of intervals close to a fifth among the 12 panpipes appears to be random; their appearance is accidental and due to the structure and nature of the Nasca scale. It is not clear how a fifth could have been used for the building of the Nasca arithmetic scale nor for the tuning of the panpipes.

CONCLUSIONS

For the first time tonometric measurements for a significant number of Nasca panpipes have become available. The results are not consistent with those expected for a pentatonic scale, which has so frequently been postulated for the Andean region. They also do not fit other logarithmic scales but rather arithmetic scales based on equal frequency steps. Differentiation between these two types of scales may at times be difficult because of errors in tuning of instruments, due to differences in blowing of the pipes and in measuring of the frequencies.

The use of a scale based on a common, basic frequency interval and the occurrence of specific frequencies among many of the instruments, which span about 600 years and whose provenience could be from any of several valleys, is indicative of a highly developed and standardized cultural tradition and of some centralized organizational system on the South Coast during the Early Intermediate Period.

Reed panpipes replaced ceramic ones toward the end of the Early Intermediate Period in Peru. Double-series reed panpipes have been preserved and found in graves along the Peruvian Coast and among the modern Quechua

and Aymara near Lake Titicaca. These instruments have two rows of pipes, equal in length, but one set of pipes is open on both ends. They give the octave above the fundamental of the pipes that have only one open end. Their function is unknown; various opinions are given by Izikowitz (1970:391-395). The objective achieved by the complex ceramic pipes is the same as those of the reed pipes open on both ends. The tradition for instruments capable of giving the interval of one octave above the fundamental therefore is ancient, going back at least to late Paracas, and has been achieved by two different means.

The findings by Ellis (1965, 1966, 1967) and those presented in this paper suggest reexamination of tonometric measurements collected from various parts of the world for the occurrence of scales with equal frequency steps. It may shed new light on the evolution of musical scales.

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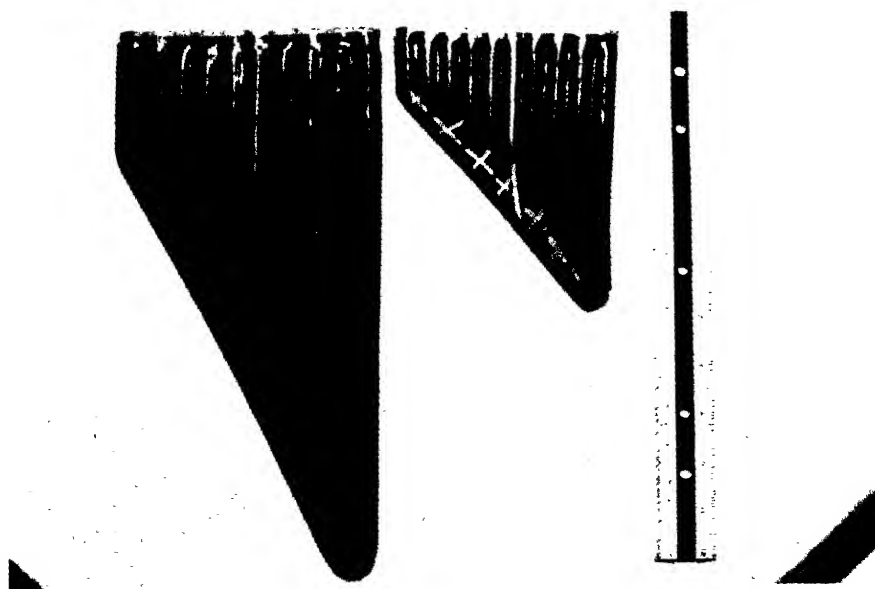


Figure 1. Nasca panpipes with simple, straight tubes; Ica, Peru. Museum of the American Indian, NY, 11/2563 (left), 11/2564 (right).

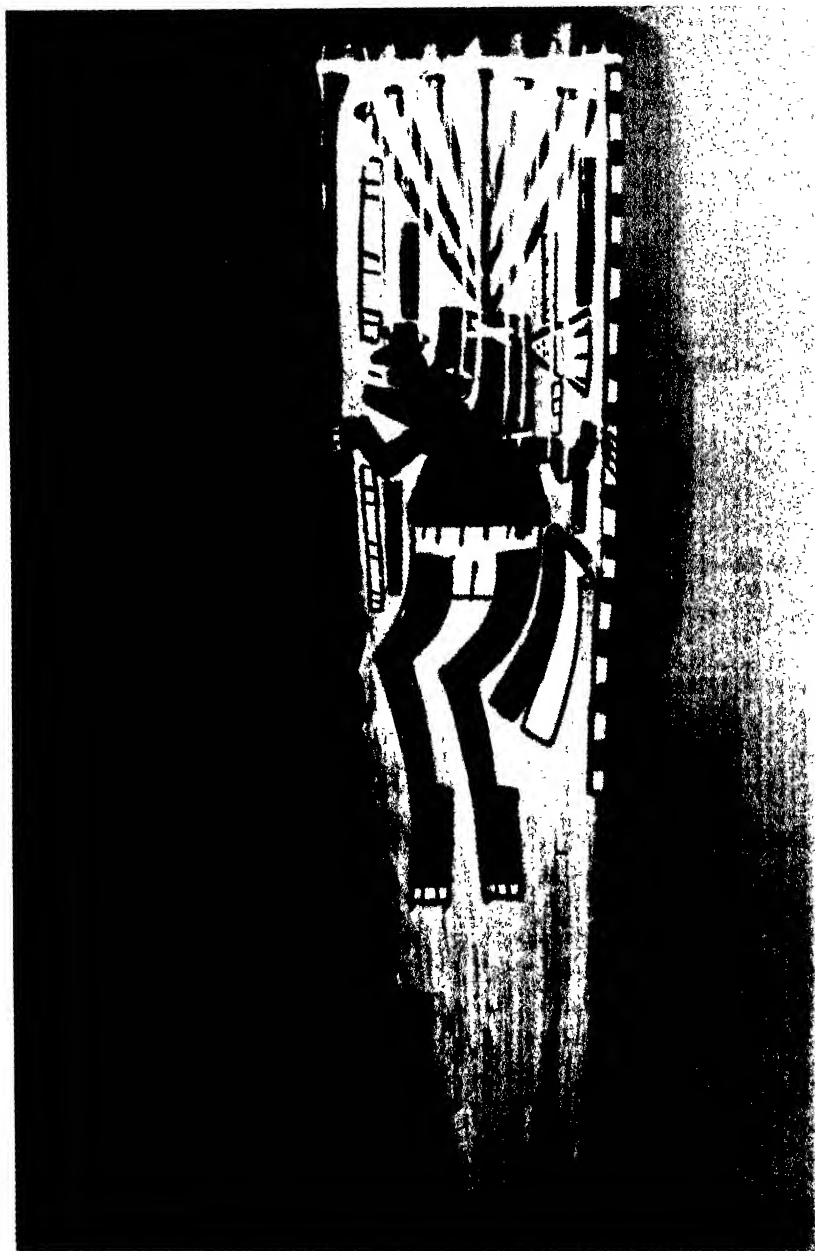


Figure 2. Nasca panpipe with complex, segmented tubes; Ica, Peru. Peabody Museum 41-17-30/2882.

CATHARSIS, COMMUNICATION, AND EVOCATION: ALTERNATIVE VIEWS OF THE SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL FUNCTIONS OF BLUES SINGING

Harriet J. Ottenheimer

I. CATHARSIS

The potential value of song texts as mechanisms for the psychological release of emotion has been observed and commented on by both anthropologists and ethnomusicologists. The concept appears to be the basis for most recent scholarly approaches to the understanding of blues singing. Herskovits, for example, suggested in 1934 that in "Negro cultures" the "therapeutic value of bringing a repressed thought into the open" was commonly achieved in song (1966:137). Merriam, too, points out that songs "provide psychological release for the participants" (1964:201) and that they express "ideas and emotions not revealed in ordinary discourse" (1964:219).

The release of emotion expected to take place in the singing of the blues is assumed by most blues scholars to be the principal function of blues singing. Oliver, for instance, pointing out that discrimination against blacks in the United States engenders "blinding anger, humiliation and frustration" says that blues singing brings "satisfaction and comfort both to the singer and to his companions." It is in song that the blues singer is able to create "accurate portrayals of his state of mind, uninhibited in their self-expression. Singing of his condition brings relief to his heart and order to his disturbed thought" (1963:81). Courlander, too, stresses the release of repressed emotion as fundamental to blues singing. "Behind every blues, as sung for the first time, is a buildup of experience and emotion which needs an outlet" (1963:145). The creation of a blues song, expressing "criticism or complaint," he says, "serves as balm or antidote"; he refers to the process as catharsis and suggests that "the finer the singing or creative effort, the more effective is the song as a catharsis" (1963:124).

Courlander appears to have been the first to have associated the term "catharsis" with the emotional release generally assumed to be associated with blues singing. Keil refined the use of the term in *Urban Blues*, suggesting that catharsis operates on different levels for rural and urban blues singers. The rural blues singer, he says, typically achieves an individualized catharsis.

... a blues man in the country or for the first time coming to grips with the city life sings primarily to ease his worried mind, to get things out of his system, to feel better; it is of secondary importance whether or not others are present and deriving similar satisfactions from his music (1966:76).

The urban blues singer, however, has an obligation to make the cathartic experience available to his audience as well.

Individual catharsis is still a *sine qua non* to a successful performance, but in an anomic, bewildering, urban situation, characterized by shifting values and interpersonal conflicts, people expect something more than a personal lament from a singer. He must not only state common problems clearly and concisely but must in some sense take steps toward their analysis and solution (1966:76).

Describing a typical urban blues concert (or "ritual") in this framework Keil emphasizes not only release but the particularly Durkheimian aspects of such an event. "The sight and sound of a common problem being acted out, talked out and worked out on stage promote catharsis, and the fact that all present are participating in the solution gives solidarity" (Keil 1966:137). Most recently Titon has described blues singing as a "secular ceremony," commenting that singers and listeners feel "better after blues performances" (1977:33).

The argument that song in general (and blues in particular) promotes a cathartic release of frustration rests on at least three basic assumptions: first, that there are certain topics or feelings that are so deep-seated or emotionally charged that they cannot or must not be expressed in speech; second, that these feelings *can* be expressed in song; and third, that the expression of these feelings or topics in song (and especially in blues) brings psychological relief. Most blues scholars assume that catharsis will be experienced by the singer who expresses repressed emotions in song. Some extend the process to the audience, suggesting that listeners, too, may experience catharsis. Analysis of data collected in New Orleans concerning blues singers and blues singing, however, brings into question the validity of these assumptions. In this paper I present data that indicate that the commonly held view of blues singing as a mechanism of emotional release is inadequate. In addition I suggest some alternative views of the functions of blues singing.

During 1966-67 I engaged in field research in New Orleans¹ devoted primarily to elucidating the cathartic mechanism in blues singing. I contacted and interviewed approximately two dozen blues singers, mostly men, and spent varying amounts of time with them. Two of these New Orleans singers eventually included me in their lives and families to a degree that approximated the experience of field workers in more traditional anthropological settings. It is they whose songs, interviews, and casual conversations provided the richest data for my analysis. They represented, stylistically, the two extremes of the range that I encountered during the research period. In Keil's

typology of blues styles (1966:217-220) one, Jewell "Babe" Stovall,² could be characterized as a "rural" blues singer. He had come to New Orleans ten years earlier from a small town to the north where he had sung primarily for friends and family. In New Orleans he sang blues in bars, on street corners and in "coffee houses." Blues-singing was only a secondary occupation for him and it did not bring in much money. The other singer, Pleasant "Cousin Joe" Joseph,³ could be characterized in Keil's typology as a "city" or perhaps an "urbane" blues singer. He had come to New Orleans as a child and had begun his career as a singer and entertainer as a young man, singing first in New Orleans night clubs, later in New York night clubs and on records (in the 1940's). He finally returned to New Orleans where he was singing and playing piano in Bourbon Street night clubs patronized mainly by whites. Music was his sole occupation, and although most of his patrons preferred to hear popular music and old standards he considered himself a blues singer.

As my research was expected to elucidate the cathartic mechanism in blues singing I recorded as many songs and as much conversation as possible for analysis. My plan was to compare the speech and song of the two singers for the types and patterning of topics that appeared. It was hypothesized that the thematic patterning in speech and in song would be different. These differences were expected to demonstrate that catharsis was a major function of blues singing. Comparison of the content patterns of song and speech was further expected to point up those topics and "deep-seated emotions" that could not be expressed in speech but that could be released through expression in song.

I relied on the singers to define their songs as blues or non-blues. Only those songs defined as blues were analyzed. Too often an outside observer may define a song as blues or as blues-y that is not conceived as such by the singer; I wanted to avoid this possibility. If the singers themselves defined the set of blues then I could be more certain that what I was analyzing *was* blues, at least for its singers. Speech on the other hand, was not limited in any way. It included minimally structured interviews with me, and general conversations with family and friends. Everything that could be tape-recorded or included in field notes was analyzed.

A form of content analysis that combined contingency and frequency was used. Maranda and Kõngäs-Maranda suggest the profitability of such a combination for oral tradition, "as semantic weight (the degree of redundancy of certain actors, symbols and actions) may be significant in the constitution of folkloric semantic spaces" (1971:xv). The songs of each singer were broken down into lines and scrutinized for every possible topic that seemed to suggest itself. In both singers' songs the category "women" emerged as predominant and this category was further analyzed for internal patterning of thematic content. At this level, too, the material itself suggested the categories. Four

dimensions of contrast emerged: Address, Other, Attitude, and Action. Of these, the following components were utilized:

for *Address*: If the singer sang to the women a "+" was registered; if he sang about her then a "-" was registered.

for *Other*: If any person other than the singer and a woman was mentioned in the line a "+" was registered; if not, then a "-" was registered.

for *Attitude*: If the attitude being expressed appeared to be positive a "+" was registered; if it seemed negative a "-" was registered. If the attitude expressed was ambivalent or couldn't be adequately judged a "?" was registered.

for *Action*: If some activity was depicted in the line then a "+" was registered; if not, then a "-" was registered. Where an action was depicted the type of action was noted (e.g., cooperation, aggression, avoidance, seeking, seducing).

The goal was to utilize the "emic" categorizations of each singer when coding the lines of his songs. This was particularly important in judgments concerning attitude and type of action. Every line concerning women was coded using these four symbols and a word. Some examples will illustrate. Babe's, "If she don't wanna go, I'm gonna leave her here" was coded Address -, Other -, Attitude -, Action + (avoidance) or, more compactly, - - - + (avoidance). Cousin Joe's, "and if my woman don't be careful I'm liable to double right back" was coded - - - + (aggression). This coding greatly facilitated the identification and comparison of patterns in each singer's songs.

While the line of text provided the basic analytic unit for the songs, the "event," ("setting," "scene," or "conditions") provided the equivalent semantic unit in speech (see Peacock 1968:71, Burke 1945, Parsons 1949). Events and conversations described by the singers were coded using the same categories developed for the song text analysis. It was expected, considering the characterization of blues singing as cathartic, that some of the patterns present in the song texts would be absent in speech. This did not prove to be the case, however. Without exception every pattern expressed in a song line was also expressed in speech. In addition each singer's most typical patterns occurred with similar frequencies in song and speech. Each singer, it appears, has his own stylistic pattern for depicting his relations with women, which appears both in his songs and in his speech. For instance, the spoken equivalent of Babe's "If she don't wanna go, I'm gonna leave her here," is his relating of the time that he thought a woman "back home" in Mississippi had attempted to kill him by giving him a jug of poisoned molasses and of how he simply took the jug home with him and, never saying anything to the woman about it, poured the contents of the jug into the backyard privy. In both song and speech he is describing a woman but not talking to her, no other person is present in the scene, he holds the woman in low esteem, and in both cases he leaves the woman. In all of Babe's - - - + song lines and in all of his - - - + speech events, leaving is the action described. All of Cousin Joe's - - - +

song lines involve aggressive behavior or threats of aggression. Most of his - - - + speech events also describe aggression. The spoken equivalent of his "and if my woman don't be careful, I'm liable to double right back," is his description of the time that his first wife "cheated on him," by going to a dance without him (and without his permission); he stalked her and, when he found her, he beat her up and threw her out and refused to talk to her the whole time. A few of Cousin Joe's - - - + speech events described leaving or cooperation rather than aggression.

These results have significant implications for our understanding of the functions of blues singing. The pattern congruity revealed by analysis of the songs and speech of these two singers suggests that they are not using blues to sing what they cannot say. In fact, they appear to be saying more in speech than in blues. (A greater variety of action is described in speech than in song and action itself is depicted more frequently in speech than in song.)⁴ Clearly it cannot be said that these two singers are achieving a cathartic release of pent-up, inexpressible emotions through their blues songs. (It remains to be discovered if they can express everything in both speech and song, if there are some topics that can be expressed neither in speech nor in song, or if there is yet another medium of expression in which a cathartic release of certain emotions *can* be achieved.) If this is so, then we must begin to focus our attention on alternative functions of blues singing. Two possibilities are emotional intensification (evocation) and communication.

II. COMMUNICATION AND EVOCATION

Although the data suggest that the emotional function of blues singing is not cathartic release of emotion it does not appear necessary to conclude that blues singing has no emotional function at all. In fact, all informants agree that blues singing *is* an emotional event and that emotions and blues are deeply linked in a number of ways. The "blue" feeling, for example, was defined by informants in many ways, all of which reflect a core concept of frustration, despair, or hopelessness.

Exploring the nature of the "blue" feeling, informants described those situations in which nothing could be done by the individual involved to alleviate the problem. Cousin Joe, for instance, describes the helplessness associated with feeling "blue" when he attempts to distinguish "blue" from "sad":

The *sad* feeling is if something did actually happen. Like if you know when you left this morning your woman was . . . sick or something . . . Now you'll feel *sad* knowing that she feels bad. And what will make you feel *blue* is if you know there's nothing hurting her organically but there's

something on her mind, you understand? And she won't tell you what it is but you can tell the difference from her reactions. Well then, that'll make you *blue*; thinking, knowing, that you know *that* she has something on her mind that's worrying her. That makes you feel *blue* that she won't tell you what it is and you'll be busting your brains out trying to figure out what it is (Dec. 16, 1966).⁵

Another informant expresses the relation between uncontrollable situations and "blue" feelings in even more concrete terms:

H.O. I've heard it said that blues is a feeling you get when you're in a situation that you can't control at all. What do you think about that?

D.B.⁶ That's right. That is *right*. When you can't control it. "I'm prison-bound." Prison-bound blues. Can't control it. You would like to do *something* about it and you can't do *nothin'* about it so there's despair (DB Jan. 13, 1967).

Still another suggests that not only is "blues" the feeling associated with noncontrol of events but that the music of blues is the only music appropriate to such situations:

H.O. In other words, if you get a situation that you can't control you got the blues?

R.S. Yeah.

H.O. But if you get to the point where, say, you can control it?

R.S. Well, you ain't got no more blues. You got the situation well in hand. No blues. Hell you satisfied... You rather do rock-and-roll-jazz dance then... Everything's under control. (Un)less'n you wants to hear some blues to bring back memories of when you couldn't *help* yourself and you can *now*. They can do *that*. You can play some blues for historical purposes (RS Jan. 16, 1967).

The blues, evidently, is both a specific feeling and a specific type of song appropriate to that feeling. In addition informants suggest that a blues song must be sung with feeling. To Cousin Joe, success in reaching your audience requires that you show feeling in your singing:

You can look and tell he enjoys his work because he sings with a feeling and he can make you—he can sing *sad* songs and make you think about your *troubles* and then he can sing *happy* songs and make you laugh and *forget* about your troubles. So he's got *soul* where his audience is concerned (Jan 10, 1967).

Another professional blues singer also links specific feelings with specific song types as follows:

I lives what I'm playing whiles I'm playing it. But now when I get through with it, it's gone, because I'm a writer and I'm goin' into something else. ... See, I can play a blues right now and be sad. Then I turn around, play somethin' jazzy next minute—I forgot I played the blues. While I'm playing the piece I'm *in* it; I forgot what I just played before (RS Jan. 16, 1967).

Feeling thus appears to be linked by informants to songs in two ways: appropriateness and necessity. The "blue" feeling is appropriate to blues songs (and vice versa), and feeling "blue" is thought to be necessary for effective

blues singing (effective either on oneself, one's audience, or both). But the effect is not considered to be one of cathartic relief. When confronted with the idea that singing or hearing blues songs might relieve or dispel the "blue" feeling informants responded with disbelief. Some even found the question bewildering. In the following response a professional blues singer attempts to answer the question in my terms but ends up explaining how release is *not* achieved:

H.O. The music helps you get over your blues?

R.S. Well, it's—some people seem to think it ease them but it don't help you but you . . . Each individual is his own individual within himself and everything starts with him. That's his trouble. And so this relieving—it reacts on different people in different ways—these same blues. Some of 'em get playing the blues and you see he want to cry, some of 'em get the blues, he just want to give away everything he got, and he, over there, he just feels so good and he seems to get a kick out of being blue. You know that means—it makes him feel good when he hear the blues and he's already blue. Then some people—it makes them cry; they'll tell you, "Stop! Don't play that piece. I had one of those cases happen to me and it just fits me and I rather you not. I'll pay you. Don't play that." (RS Jan. 16, 1967.)

The above comment is a clear example of the general response of informants. They do not see blues singing as a means of providing release of emotion. Instead it appears to function in at least three other ways: it can make you feel "blue," it can match your "blue" feeling, and it can deepen your feeling of "blueness." Some informants' comments elucidate one or another of these aspects more clearly. The statements about the appropriateness of blues to the "blue" feeling already cited are also statements about the mood-matching effects of blues. Comments about the effect on one's audience of singing with feeling are also statements about the mood-creating effects of blues. Particularly interesting in this regard is the following comment on the importance of feeling in the singer's effect on his audience:

H.O. Why is it that the blues—this feeling, the blues, and the music, the blues have the same word?

J.G. All I know is if I feel it, you got it. It's a contagious thing. . . If I do it, and I do it right, you got it. It's like a disease, it's catchin', it's a contagious thing. . .

H.O. How do you give it? Just by having it, or by singing it?

J.G. It's gotta be within music. . . It's gotta be a feeling. . . I feel it. I can't give|it to you less'n I feel it. I can't tell you the story less'n I feel it (JG Jan. 30, 1967).

Cousin Joe, too, explains the mood-creating effect of blues on an audience saying,

When I sing something that touches you, it first touches me, too, you see? It touches me first, you see? And through remote control then I get to you—through my words, phrasing and everything like that—where the blues is concerned, see? (Jan 10, 1967.)

And R.S. comments that a "slow piece" can "give you the blues if you ain't got 'em already" (RS Jan 16, 1967).

Although the mood-creating and the mood-matching aspects of blues singing are evidently desirable qualities to be pursued by blues singers and their audiences the intensifying aspect is far more complex. It is not necessarily desirable, as seen in R.S.'s description above of the person who cries and offers the singer payment to stop singing a particular piece. The following conversation with Babe illustrates an extreme aspect of the mood-intensifying function of blues:

H.O. What does a man do when he gets to feeling blue?

Babe. Well, I know a fella—killed himself. I know a fella—he was worried and bothered. He was worried and bothered and he couldn't be still. Took a gun and killed himself. Shot his wife and killed *her*. Thought he *had* killed her but he didn't kill her. She got over it and married again. And he's dead and gone on.

H.O. But do you think music would be any consolation to him?

Babe. No. Music wouldn't-a helped him none.

H.O. Would it make him feel worse?

Babe. *Sure* it would make him feel worse.

H.O. It would?

Babe. Sure. It wouldn't-a helped him (Jan 27, 1967).

Clearly the relation of blues and emotion is complex. Informants agree that only a certain type of feeling—frustration or helplessness—is appropriate to the blues and that the "blue" feeling is a necessary ingredient in the successful singing of the blues. Singers can judge the success of their singing by noting its effect on their listeners (and in some cases on themselves as well). Blues singing may create (evoke) the blue feeling in listeners or, if they are already "blue," it may match or deepen their mood. Matching appears to be considered desirable, intensifying does not. Relieving the blue feeling is not considered a function of blues singing.

The mood-matching function of blues singing is interesting to explore. If blues is an unpleasant emotion, what pleasure can be derived from matching it with music? Folktales that evoke only unpleasant emotions, according to Fischer, will only be told if they provide an ultimate release of normally unexpressed anxieties, but, he continues,

Whether folktales which evoke negative emotions always successfully fulfill this function of ultimately relieving anxiety is another question. Conceivably, at some time and for some individuals they may provoke more anxiety than they relieve. Presumably, however, the balance is "profitable" for the individuals who participate regularly as narrators for an audience (1963:257).

Blues singers in New Orleans do not appear to use blues to reduce anxiety. Instead they may evoke moods that might be considered undesirable by some. Some listeners are believed to have difficulty with the blue mood if it is

intensified but most listeners are expected to derive pleasure both from the simple evocation of the blue mood and from matching it with appropriate music. Apparently there is emotional satisfaction in the matching of music to mood. As Cousin Joe says, the blues singer who sings with a feeling is the one who "enjoys his work."

The evocative and mood-matching powers of music should not be unfamiliar to most of us. The role of music in evoking emotions is described by McAllester:

With us a principal function of music seems to be as an aid in inducing attitude. We have songs to evoke moods of tranquility, nostalgia, sentiment, group rapport, religious feeling, party solidarity, and patriotism to name a few (1960:469).

Thus, although the image of the black musician singing out his soul (and the souls of his listeners) is romantically compelling, it seems more accurate to regard the emotional function of blues singing not as the release of pent-up emotions but rather as the evocation, intensification, and matching of moods whose presence is realistically acknowledged by the singers. Any repressed emotions that need release do not find it in blues singing; perhaps it is achieved in some other form of African-American expressive culture. Religious music is one likely possibility.

The evocative functions of blues singing are only a part of the total picture of our understanding of the blues, however. That similar patterning of thematic material is evident in blues songs *and* in general speech events suggests a communicative function of blues as well. The data seem to suggest that blues singers are able to communicate with equal ease in song and in speech. It would be of interest then, to know how and when and in what contexts a singer chooses between song and speech for his communication. There is some indication that the pattern congruity of song and speech may be found for other blues singers than just the two with whom I worked. Oliver's observation that "Song, speech and music are frequently one in the blues" (1965:9) makes the best sense when interpreted in this way. The romantic view of the illiterate sharecropping blues singer has clouded the issue considerably; to many, illiteracy is equated with an inability to speak well. Recent attention to black dialect and to the ethnography of speaking in black communities indicates that the positive value placed on verbal eloquence is representative of a widely generalized African-American culture pattern (Abrahams 1968, 1970; Kochman 1972). My research suggests that eloquence is as highly valued in song as in speech. That blues singing and speaking are, at least for two singers and probably for more, two facets of the same expressiveness indicates an exciting and potentially invaluable prospect for folklore analysis in Afro-American anthropology. On the dimension of communication, song exhibits far greater compactness (or redundancy) than does

speech. All of expressive culture, in fact, is more compact than speech and can be ranked in order of increasing compactness beginning with myth and continuing through ritual, folk drama, folk tale, and riddle to folk song (Maranda and Köngäs-Maranda 1971:xiv). Structural analyses of oral expressive culture have, to date, relied heavily on contingency analysis (*ibid.*:xv). The work of Lévi-Strauss (1964, 1967) on myth, of Turner (1964) on ritual, Peacock (1968) on folk drama, Dundes (1964) and Propp (1958) on folk tales, Milner (1971) on proverbs and of Köngäs-Maranda (1971) on riddles are among the most outstanding examples of this approach. A reliance on frequency analysis, on the other hand, seems typical of studies devoted to narrative (Colby 1966a and b) and to song (Lomax and Halifax 1971). With regard to folk songs in particular, Lomax and Halifax state:

In effect, not only do they recur in steady functional relation to the people's life, not only are their texts composed of stock literary devices, favored subject matters, and so forth, but they are also redundant in intonation patterns (phrases), accent patterns (meter), structural patterns (musical form) and vocalization patterns (vocal timbre). Thus, folk songs may be recognized in the discourse of a culture simply because they are more redundant at more levels than any other form of utterance (1971:236).

The multi-leveled redundancy of folk song suggests a strong relationship to the culture of its singers and listeners:

the texts of songs must be limited to those matters, attitudes, concerns and feelings on which the community is in maximal accord. If this is not the case, a song is not likely to hold its audience and it certainly will not pass into oral tradition, where acceptance means that consensus has taken place over and over again through time. Thus, from the theoretical point of view, songs ought to be heavily loaded with normative cultural indicators (*ibid.*:237).

We have then in blues, an easily collected, compact and therefore perhaps more easily analyzable key to the deeper cultural patterns of African-Americans in the United States.

My analysis of blues song and speech, combining both contingency *and* frequency analysis, has resulted in a new understanding of the meaning of the blues. The resultant challenge to the functional concept of blues as providing psychological relief to its singers and the alternative proposition that evocation and communication be regarded instead as major functions of blues singing should not obscure the fundamental fact that such songs also are clear and concise indicators of the wider cultural patterns within which they are performed.

NOTES

1. The research was supported, in part, by the National Institute of Mental Health, Fellowship number, 1 FI MH-29, 240-OIAI (BEH-B).

2. "Babe" requested that I use his name rather than a pseudonym.
3. "Cousin Joe" also preferred that I use his name.
4. There is a full discussion of the analysis in Ottenheimer 1973.
5. Dates in parentheses refer to tape-recorded interviews of conversations.
6. For many informants initials rather than pseudonyms provide sufficient anonymity.

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RUBBER SOUL AND THE SOCIAL DANCE TRADITION

Terence J. O'Grady

By the end of 1965, the Beatles had established themselves as successful hit-makers in both an up-tempo pop-rock style and a moderate or slow tempo ballad style.¹ The first of these had been influenced by a number of different precursors—Buddy Holly, the Everlys, Chuck Berry, and a number of black motown singers—but had coalesced by 1964 into an original combination of inventive melodic and harmonic gestures and compelling, if occasionally simplistic, lyrics. Their ballad style had drawn from the standard fifties' white ballad style of Holly and others as well as the more tension-filled black style, while demonstrating glimpses of a sophisticated adult commercial style.

The British version of the *Help!* album (released in August, 1965) showed a further development of the pop-rock style, along with the finest example of the adult commercial style to date—"Yesterday." However, two of its songs, "I've Just Seen A Face," and "It's Only Love," are found also on the American version of the *Rubber Soul* album and at least one of these seems to belong more rightfully to that album on the basis of style.

Wilfrid Mellers has stated that the title, *Rubber Soul*, "hints at greater flexibilities of irony and compassion" (1973: 58).² While perhaps this literary rather than any musical idea most completely binds together all of the songs on both versions of the album, the use of the word "soul" clearly has no specifically musical implications insofar as any reference to the popular black rhythm and blues of the period is intended. In terms of the influence of black music, probably no Beatle album has as little "soul" as this one.

Although the album title appears to have little musical significance, the album cover may provide a hint as to the Beatles' musical intent. The four Beatles are pictured in decidedly "rustic" attire—a far cry from the conservative "mod" fashions displayed on earlier covers. This folk-like western image is reflected in the music to some degree by the limited use of the electric guitar and, more significantly, by the general lack of broad, ear-catching pop-rock musical gestures.

McCartney's "I've Just Seen A Face" begins the album and is generally representative of *Rubber Soul* in style and approach. The recording makes use exclusively of acoustic guitars—one twelve-string guitar and two folk guitars. After a half-speed introduction featuring the folk guitars in melodic thirds, the

tempo quickens to an undanceable speed and McCartney's tight, country-flavored vocal enters with a melody distinguished only by its typically Beatle-style use of accented nonharmonic tones over the stereotyped I-vi-IV-V chord progression. The country-western aura is confirmed by the added vocal harmony in the chorus.³ Lennon adds his equally flat-toned voice in a duet of thirds and fifths over an even more basic harmonic progression.

Since the instrumental accompaniment is equally devoid of any specific rock and roll gesture (the twelve-string solo approximates Bluegrass style in rhythmic regularity, and the dull percussion off-beats fail to contribute much energy), the overall result is the Beatles' first authentically country-western (as opposed to country-rock or rockabilly) song—a genre not normally considered palatable to the popular market of 1965 by the recording industry. (The other song released earlier on the British *Help!* album, "It's Only Love," occupies a more ambiguous position stylistically and will be discussed later.)

"I've Just Seen A Face" is followed by a song even further removed from the rock and roll tradition—"Norwegian Wood": a traditional narrative ballad whose pristine simplicity (including a predominantly acoustic accompaniment and the idiomatically folk-like use of a pedal effect) is interrupted only by the surprising chord that closes the final phrase of the bridge. The third Beatle song written in triple meter, its only links to the rock tradition are an inobtrusive use of percussion and a somewhat problematic use of the *sitar*. While functioning mostly as an "exotic guitar" (Mellers:63) that doubles the melody, it also provides soft, silvery-toned arpeggios of almost dulcimer-like effect, which contribute to the folk song atmosphere.⁴ Furthermore, the lyrics represent one of the clearest examples of the sequential unfolding of a "tale" yet found in the Beatles' output.

Similar in this respect and in their generally folk-like posture are "Girl" and "In My Life," both on Side Two of the American album. The accompaniment of Lennon's composition, "Girl," is again predominantly acoustic and emphasizes the swaying triplet division of the beat more characteristic of folk than rock music at this tempo. The melody is typical of the narrative style in its many repeated notes and primarily conjunct motion, although the Beatles' characteristic use of nonharmonic tones affords the line a sophisticated poignancy not found in most folk songs. The middle section of the song drops its folk-like posture as the triplet division of the beat is replaced by equal eighth notes reinforced by a reiterated background chant. The effect is comparable to the melodramatic recitation style of early rock and roll in its tonic-dominant alternation and results in a definite increase in momentum. The momentum continues as the first section of the song returns with a new guitar counter-melody, which subsequently becomes a solo in an unusually metrical folk-influenced style.

Lennon's "In My Life" evokes the passivity of a restrained folk ballad,

eschewing both the blues-derived qualities of the typical pop-rock song and the harmonic suavity and sophistication associated with the slicker commercial ballads. Its generally subdued use of percussion and moderate tempo combine with a then unique section of pseudo-Baroque counterpoint (played by George Martin on piano) and introspective lyrics to evade categorization in the conventional pop genres of the day. Again, the majority of its stylistic indicators suggest the folk ballad, and its credentials in this area are attested to by Judy Collins's subsequent recording.

Like many of its predecessors on *Rubber Soul*, McCartney's "I'm Looking Through You" demonstrates a split personality in its combination and alternation of elements from the pop-rock style and the folk or country-western styles as represented by "I've Just Seen A Face." The acoustic guitar introduction sets the tone with a mixture of folk and country characteristics, which characterize the accompaniment for most of the song. The harmonies are simple and diatonic, lacking any element of surprise. The percussion accompaniment is solid, but strongly suggests the rock and roll idiom only in the final measures of the first section, in which flatted thirds are introduced in the melody and the vocal quality takes on a rock and roll edge. At this point, an electric guitar adds a typical rock riff and the organ (played by Ringo) contributes a few sharply dissonant clusters. The folk-like sound reappears in a brief middle section featuring fragmented country-style guitar interjections. Following this, the more expansive folk-like melody of the first section returns, again interrupted periodically by the starkly contrasting rock and roll gesture described above. Although this stylistic juxtaposition is somewhat less subtle than in previous songs, "I'm Looking Through You" demonstrates many of the same folk-like characteristics as those songs and shares with them a general disregard for the danceable characteristics commonly associated with the pop-rock of the day.

Perhaps the most distinctive example of this disregard for the social dance conventions of rock and roll on *Rubber Soul* is "Michelle." "Michelle" is attributed mainly to Paul McCartney, with John Lennon given credit for assistance in the middle section. It is, like "Yesterday," an "adult" popular song, an indication of which can be seen in the relatively large number of "cover" versions recorded in the first few months after its release, by performers who appealed primarily to an adult audience.

Mellers states that the model here is "French cabaret song" (ibid.) and, although he gives no concrete examples of that influence, the relationship of the first two chords (I major—iv minor) as well as the augmented sixth chords and harmonic minor scale (the Beatles having previously preferred the aeolian mode or natural minor) are examples of gestures from the decidedly adult tradition of the French chanson. The occasional use of French phrases incorporated effortlessly into the lyrics naturally reinforces this impression.

These characteristics are, by themselves, too vague to define the song's character to any great extent, however. "Michelle" is more readily defined as "adult" popular music by its tempo, general mood of restraint, and consistency in the exploitation of adult popular ballad characteristics. Recorded at too rapid a tempo for the traditional rock ballad (an undanceable tempo in that style), it lacks the energy and aggression of the faster rock and roll types. Even the earlier hybrid songs such as "I'm Happy Just to Dance with You" (released as a single in 1964 and appearing also on both versions of the *A Hard Day's Night* album) contained several direct references to the rock and roll idiom (especially in the role played by guitar and percussion) lacking in "Michelle."

"Popular" melodic-harmonic elements have, of course, always played an important role in the Beatles' pop-rock style, but here these elements are presented in their original context, undiluted by elements from the blues-derived rock and roll tradition. Chromatic sequences as in "Michelle" take on widely divergent meanings when played by the quietly mellow electric guitar and soft, pattering percussion, or by the energetic, biting guitar and percussion combination found in so many other Beatle songs. By eliminating almost all aspects of rock instrumentation and energy, and by focusing the commercial, popular elements of their musical vocabulary, the Beatles succeeded in producing a successful "adult" song—one which may also have achieved popularity among the young but whose relationship to the social dance tradition of their generation is minimal.

While the songs discussed up to this point all, for varying reasons, fall outside the social dance tradition (unlike virtually all previous Beatle compositions), some songs on *Rubber Soul* modify typical rock and roll dance styles rather than depart from them. In this category is Lennon's "It's Only Love," one of the two songs to appear first on the British *Help!* album. "It's Only Love" mixes the rock ballad style and the up-tempo or moderate tempo rock and roll style similar in many respects to that found in some earlier Beatle songs, but exhibits a greater modification of those traditional styles in its approach to momentum, complexity, and musical detail.

The outstanding manifestation of this complexity and detail is the multiplicity of sounds and tone colors in the instrumental accompaniment. Six different guitar effects appear, ranging from a vigorous acoustic strum to a tremolo on the electric lead guitar. The various individual and combined effects are made possible by the most extensive multiple tracking to be found on any early Beatle album; this degree of detail in instrumentation in itself indicates an artistic intent the self-consciousness of which is preceded by few of the Beatles' earlier compositions ("Yesterday" being a possible exception).

Also indicating a stress on values not formerly associated with the social

dance tradition of rock and roll is the ambiguity of momentum and continuity created by conflict between the square, regular rhythm of the unusually legato lyrical melody of the first section and its actively syncopated instrumental accompaniment. This contrast—far greater than in most of the earlier hybrids—results in a virtual duality of momentum between the two levels. This duality of momentum is reinforced by the duality of melodic-harmonic style, which combines elements of both the Beatles' commercial popular vocabulary and their rock ballad style (cf. "Yesterday"). "It's Only Love" thus represents a further expansion of the Beatles' rock idiom—perhaps the result of their increasing desire to create music as free as possible from the limiting context of mid-sixties' rock and roll.

However significant a break with the rock and roll tradition may be represented by several of the songs on *Rubber Soul*, the album does not demonstrate a complete break with the past, as clearly shown by the three following songs. Each of these songs shows, albeit in varying degrees of prominence, qualities characteristic of the rock and roll tradition of the mid-sixties.

McCartney's "You Won't See Me" features a pop-rock atmosphere generated mostly by the instrumental accompaniment. Virtually all of its instrumental and vocal activities appear to be securely in the mainstream rock and roll tradition, but the song also contains some subtle distortions of that tradition. The "ooh-la-la-la" vocal accompaniment must be heard as parody, given its history of use in the fifties. Furthermore, the apparent reason for the vocal fill—the significant pauses within the melodic phrases—is in itself somewhat uncharacteristic of rock style. While the frenzied vocal activities in the recordings of Little Richard (and in the Beatles' "I'm Down," among others) may not have represented the general prototype for the Beatles' songs, it is clear that a certain amount of vocal energy had traditionally been a key factor in establishing the momentum associated with the successful up-tempo rock and roll songs in the dance tradition of the sixties. Precisely this vocal energy is missing in the Beatles' recording of "You Won't See Me."

Based partially on syncopated melodic-rhythmic material similar to that in "You Won't See Me," McCartney's "Wait" goes further in exploiting the conflict between syncopation and silence in such a way as to create a constant fluctuation in momentum. While the chorus and middle section of the song display a traditional pop-rock continuity, the primary section is characterized by rhythmic stops and starts, which disrupt the metric regularity associated with that style.

While the two preceding songs demonstrate relatively subtle aberrations within the pop-rock idiom, the final three songs to be discussed may be considered virtual prototypes of the Beatles' more traditional work. George Harrison's "Think for Yourself" employs tambourine, maracas, and drum set

along with a "fuzz" bass, regular bass guitar, eighth note block chords on organ or electric piano, and electric lead guitar to generate a full and energetic up-tempo pop-rock accompaniment. This is paired with a vocal melody well suited to the accompaniment, even though it is also quite typical of Harrison's later work in its drooping, often three-part vocal line replete with nonharmonic tones. The song is set in a verse-chorus pattern in which the latter exhibits an increase in momentum due to the heavier activity in fuzz bass and percussion, and a melody line closely related to the instrumental riff found in the Beatles' earlier recording of "Money" (*The Beatles' Second Album*, 1964) in its pedal-like repetition against changing chords.

Like Harrison's composition, Lennon and McCartney's "The Word" stands firmly in the rock and roll tradition while exhibiting a few eccentricities. In instrumental sound, "The Word" appears at first to be patterned after the typical blues-rock style of the white blues bands of the mid-sixties (cf. The Paul Butterfield Blues Band's recording of "Get Out My Life Woman" on *East-West*). The middle section introduces some new elements, however. The three-note lead guitar melody is closely related to the middle section vocal melody in "Think for Yourself" and, like it, acts as a stable pedal element under which the harmony changes. Also pedal-like in effect are the harmonic open fifths (played by George Martin), which appear in an instrumental bridge section before and after the vocal coda. Melodically, the song is more conventional, with the first section emphasizing the juxtaposition of major and minor tonic chords, which characterizes many blues and blues-rock songs.

"Run for Your Life" is a Lennon composition of which little need be said. Based on the durable rock cliché of I-vi alternation, the song contains only two different phrases—a four-measure phrase associated with the verse and a two-measure phrase associated with the chorus. The country-western-inspired lead guitar solo is typical of many such Beatle pop-rock tunes, and only a consistent use of unusual nonharmonic tones lends a hint of distinction to the song.

The basically traditional nature of the last three songs notwithstanding, the American version of *Rubber Soul* clearly represents a new departure in the Beatles' music insofar as it demands a redefinition of most of its material in a context unrelated to the traditional social dance function previously considered germane to rock and roll. Whereas earlier Beatle experimentation had generally been concerned with innovations of harmony, melody, and—to a lesser degree—instrumentation, in *Rubber Soul* The Beatles moved to deny the very social and functional origins of rock and roll and demanded that their music be experienced exclusively through the aural process. This is not to suggest that the Beatles' music on *Rubber Soul* cannot be or has not been danced to, but rather to assert that the music is no longer primarily concerned with expediting the dance.

Furthermore, most of the songs contained on the album are unified in their demonstration of a new approach to rock and roll—an approach that focuses on musical detail rather than on the massive, ear-catching sound gestures of the earlier pop-rock songs. This disregard for the traditional requirements of simplicity, massive effects, and dance potential was manifest in some earlier Beatle compositions, but no previous album was so consistent in its denial of commercial conventions. This disregard may, paradoxically, have been made feasible only by the absolute guarantee of commercial success for any Beatle venture in 1965, and the relatively generous amount of studio recording time justified thereby.

A second specifically musical attribute shared by several songs on *Rubber Soul* involves those compositions that may be classified as country, folk, or a combination of the two in terms of the influences they display. Both country and folk elements were, of course, contained in earlier Beatle songs, but only as modifiers of the pop-rock tradition, not as a main component or main stylistic feature.

The Beatles' intention was not, in any case, to produce folk or country music, but rather to consolidate it with pop-rock to produce a hybrid form rather than merely a folk or country-flavored rock and roll song as in their earlier years. Neither the disregard for the conventions of commercial rock and roll nor the pre-occupation with musical detail necessarily presupposes a turn toward these styles; rather, the country and folk styles are used simply as a source for melodic-harmonic material and sound ideas that had not been drained of their potential for originality by over-exposure on the popular market. Country and folk music styles had been familiar to the Beatles for many years, and it is understandable that their first attempts to break from the stiff requirements of the commercial rock and roll market should draw heavily on them in many cases.

Still, the Beatles' experimentation with folk and country music had little effect on the well-established folk-rock style of the sixties, which was still primarily concerned with dance suitability. The folk-rock groups, as exemplified by the American group, the Byrds, opted for a more substantial and aggressive rock accompaniment featuring a solid, eminently danceable beat. Compared to the music of the Byrds and their many imitators, the Beatles' understated style on *Rubber Soul* was, with its subtle instrumental backings and demure stylistic borrowings from folk and country music, almost tantamount to a return to "purity."

Furthermore, the Beatles did not seem particularly anxious to further pursue the folk and country-influenced genre they had created. In *Rubber Soul* they managed to achieve great popular success while violating many tenets of the "Top Forty" tradition. (None of the songs of *Rubber Soul* were released as singles, although several received air-play on AM radio, notably

"Michelle.") They showed an unprecedented lack of concern for the dance-oriented restrictions of the period and made of their music something that seemed fit more for listening than for dancing. Having accomplished this, the Beatles soon proved themselves equal to other conquests. And yet, I doubt that any of these future conquests truly surpasses the subtle triumph of *Rubber Soul*.

NOTES

1. The term "ballad" is used here to denote those songs characterized by sustained, lyrical melodies at relatively slow tempi, generally with texts of a romantic-sentimental type.

2. All compositional attributions cited here are taken from Mellers's useful book.

3. "Country-western" is meant here to refer to the repertoire that, in the sixties, would have been listed on the commercial record charts under that category. This would include music by performers such as Buck Owens, Porter Wagoner, and others, and generally features a flat, nasal vocal tone, often with vocal harmony in thirds, and a relatively simple and repetitive melodic and harmonic structure, usually without the accented rhythmic patterns and syncopation that characterize rock and roll.

4. "Folk" here refers to songs thus characterized by the popular music industry in the sixties. Recorded by performers such as Bob Dylan and Peter, Paul, and Mary, they usually include a predominantly acoustic guitar accompaniment, as well as some of the melodic and strophic elements associated with traditional American-English folk songs and ballads. More "popular" elements may also be present, especially in the instrumental accompaniment.

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ETHNOMUSICOLOGY AND THE *NEW GROVE*

Stanley Sadie

When, at the end of 1979, *The New Grove* appears in print, the feature most likely to arouse widespread comment will be the large amount of space devoted to music outside the Western art tradition: non-Western musical systems and traditions, Western folk music, popular music and jazz, and the instruments and the terminologies used in all those subject areas.

As the primary musical reference work for the English-speaking world, *Grove's Dictionary* has always, understandably, devoted a very large proportion of its space to Western art-music traditions. Indeed the first two editions (1877-89; 1904-10) were concerned exclusively with those traditions. The fifth edition (1954), however, assigned almost 500 columns to the heading "Folk Music," in which the folk music of most of the countries of Europe, the United States, certain Middle Eastern countries and, rather more cursorily, South America was discussed; this material was augmented by a further 70 columns in the supplementary volume (1961). The treatment of non-Western music, however, reflects the ethnocentric attitudes prevailing at the time the Dictionary was prepared. The discussions of the musical systems of such civilizations as those of India and Japan, to mention but two, are cursory in the extreme; both are revisions of articles written for the third edition (1927). There is no entry on Indonesia. That Chinese music was much more extensively treated can be attributed to the fortunate availability of distinguished scholars equipped to deal with the subject. Clearly no methodical attempt was made to draw into the Dictionary discussions, appropriate in scale and related to the amount of available information, of the musical systems of different parts of the world. For this omission, no blame need be assigned; in the conditions prevailing during the last years of World War II and the difficult times immediately thereafter, it would have been impossible to envisage any such endeavour, let alone to execute it.

Doubtless, 25 years hence, the editors of *The New Grove* will be criticized for similar shortcomings and malproportions. But at least we will not be open to criticism for not having tried. From the earliest stages of the Dictionary's preparation it was determined that this area would be treated no less methodically and no less stringently than any other. It quickly became evident, however, that new and special systems of planning and organization

would have to be devised, and that we could not simply adapt those that worked for the selection of contributors and the assignment of space for, say, Italian composers of the 17th century.

The first stages towards formulating a policy were taken in close consultation with Mantle Hood, then at the Institute of Ethnomusicology, U.C.L.A., who joined our advisory board and took specific responsibility for the initial nomination of contributors. Two basic decisions were taken at this stage. First, that our central material would be located, within the Dictionary, under the names of individual countries. There seemed no merit, in present-day circumstances, in the collective "folk music" label as the heading under which the material should be placed; the concentration of such material in the fifth edition of *Grove* served, as far as we could see, no useful purpose, in that one text does not illuminate another that lies close to it in the Dictionary and they are in no sense usefully read together. On the contrary, there are obvious advantages in being able to read, side by side, about the "art music" and "folk music" traditions of particular countries (admittedly this involves begging the question of just what those labels mean, and how far they may overlap; and in many regions, of course, they have no meaningful application at all). The decision to use political divisions rather than cultural or ethnic ones was bound to raise difficulties; but for a reference work, where information has to be accessible in a readily intelligible way, there can be little doubting that this is the only practicable solution. Various ways of overcoming the difficulties raised by this decision are touched upon below.

The second early decision was that we would make some attempt to draw material together in a series of what we have called (within our office, not in the Dictionary itself) "overview" articles. The intention here is that these essays, written by scholars of outstandingly wide experience, should deal in the broadest possible way with the musical systems of a large area (for example East Asia, North Africa, Pacific Islands). They would explain features in common between the musical systems found in the area, and features where there was particular diversity; they would relate these to features of historical and geographical circumstance; and they would outline the special problems involved in the study of the area's music. These wide-ranging discussions should elucidate the context of the main articles on individual countries and their music. This created a kind of hierarchy, at three levels: overview articles on continental areas; articles on countries; and articles on instruments, forms, and the like. All, of course, are linked by cross-references.

We have had no illusions about the difficulty of setting goals, or of achieving them, in the ethnomusicological realm. The objectives of any article in *Grove* on a Western composer (and such articles represent something like two-thirds of the entries in the Dictionary) are easy to define, and sanctified by long tradition. Here any author knows what is expected of him: to provide

accurate and concise information about the subject's life, to describe the salient characteristics of his music, to list his works, and to supply an appropriate bibliography—all, of course, on a scale in proportion to the importance of the subject, our own evaluation of which would be proposed to him. Dealing with national musical traditions is quite another matter. Even in the simplest, or at any rate most familiar, regions, it is difficult and in some senses meaningless to assign relative spaces—such as X columns to a discussion of English folk music, Y to French, and Z to German. Questions about the proper ratios of X to Y to Z crowd upon one another. Does *Grove*, as the standard English-language work, have a special responsibility to England (and other English-speaking countries)? What material survives, and in what (and how dependable) form? To what degree of historical depth can such studies reliably aspire? What material is already available in print, and what new material has come to light in recent years? In actuality, the orientations of the articles on English, French, and German folk music, although all written by scholars of broadly the same generation, were markedly different, as indeed they had to be.

If such differences obtain between three of the countries of Western Europe, so similar in so many regards, and the questions arising over them are so difficult to answer, it will readily be understood that on a worldwide basis our goals were hard to define. We felt that there was little value in imposing, or attempting to impose, any prescriptive layout for our articles on contributors, each of whom was faced with a different series of problems. In an initial note to our authors on ethnomusicological subjects, we attempted to give only the roughest indications of the kinds of topic we hoped or expected to see dealt with: history and background, social context (function, use, evaluation), rhythmic practice, instrumental usage, tuning, modal-harmonic practice, composition, improvisation, notation, theory, aesthetics, education; and we indicated that, where appropriate, related topics such as dance, theater, ritual, and poetic literature might also be considered.

The selection for each article of a contributor or contributors—often there were several for a country with numerous, diverse, or extensively studied traditions—was always planned with a view to securing people who had the widest and most up-to-date command of the subject area. These articles, like those on Western composers, to some extent represent a drawing-together of scholarship on the area concerned, such as is appropriate for a reference work. As to the choice of contributors, there was no attempt to prejudice the selection towards anything other than excellence, breadth, comprehensiveness, and balance. Some of our contributors come from the countries they themselves are discussing; many do not, and clearly it would be impossible to find sufficiently-equipped scholars from all parts of the world. Many different theoretical frameworks, too, are represented—anthropological, organological,

historical, sociological, analytical, and many more. It is proper that a reference work reflect the diversity of approach among scholars of its time.

However, the diversity resulting from different philosophies, and different approaches to research, is scarcely as marked as that resulting simply from the limitations of knowledge. Sometimes we have to remind ourselves that *The New Grove* cannot hope to say the last word; that it is the sixth edition of a Dictionary conceived a century ago; and that there will in due course be a seventh edition, an eighth, and so on. In some of the less accessible, less fully researched parts of the world, the coverage of our articles is perforce only partial. Such articles will inevitably stress the areas best understood, whether they be social context, instruments, modal or tuning systems, or some other topic. In some areas, the emphasis may fall so strongly on dance or theater as to surprise a stranger to the field of ethnomusicology, unaware of the central position such topics may play in the musical culture of particular regions.

To cope with the wide range of problems posed by the breadth of coverage we were essaying, we enrolled a number of consultants with specific experience in studies of particular areas. Among them I would mention Gerard Béhague (University of Texas, Austin), who had charge of our Latin American material; Anthony King (formerly of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, now Director of the British Institute of Recorded Sound), who advised substantially on our treatment of Africa; Barbara Krader (Berlin), who supervised our material on the USSR and eastern Europe; Colin P. Mackerras (Griffith University, Queensland, Australia), who helped us put into shape our Chinese coverage; William P. Malm (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor), who advised on our Japanese material; Barbara B. Smith (University of Hawaii, Honolulu), who helped us greatly towards a coherent and comprehensive treatment of the Pacific Islands; and numerous others, who read sections of specialized material, advised us of lacunae and how they be filled (and as often as not filled them themselves) or gave other kinds of editorial advice and help.

Co-ordinating this operation, as the head of our editorial team in London, was Peter Cooke (Edinburgh University); to him fell the arduous role of implementing, in the form of edited scripts, the policies we had earlier formulated, and indeed modifying those policies as necessary and extending their application. The team of editors working with him consisted of Lucy Durán (London), Doris Dyen (Urbana), Lilja Zoben (London) and Helen Myers (New York), who between them could call on first-hand field research experience covering most of southern and eastern Europe, the Mediterranean, the West Indies and the southern United States.

During much of our editorial work, we also enjoyed great benefits from the consultancy of Klaus P. Wachsmann. He worked with us not only on African topics but, in particular, on the coverage of musical instruments.

Grove's Dictionary has good traditions in this area, though until now coverage has concentrated on Western orchestral instruments. These are still fully treated, and necessarily remain central; but their background, history, and relationships to non-Western instruments are more fully considered. Many non-Western instruments have independent entries. Where an instrument belongs to only one culture, or where its use in one culture is of special importance, it seemed more logical to discuss it within the national article concerned. This applies, for example, to many Chinese and Indian instruments; indeed it would be impossible to discuss large sectors of the repertory from those countries without including such sections within the national entries. A large network of cross-references makes it easy to find the principal discussion.

It is not only in the field of musical instruments that the emphasis of the Dictionary's coverage has shifted away from Western ethnocentricity. The time is not yet ripe, perhaps, for such an article as the one entitled "harmony" to look far beyond Western art music; indeed it can be argued that the Western concept of harmony cannot properly be applied to the music of other cultures. Such a concept as "mode," however, arguably can; and Harold S. Powers's very substantial discussion of it devotes a considerable amount of space to non-Western musical systems. So do such entries as "improvisation," "notation" (which is liberally illustrated) and "solmization."

Questions of terminology, naturally, bulk large in a dictionary on such a scale as this. In the course of work on our non-Western and folk-music articles, our editorial staff decided to assemble a comprehensive terminological index—comprehensive, that is, in the sense that every term used in any article on these topics was entered. This enabled them to relate instruments, dances, genres, and the like referred to in one article to those referred to, perhaps under different names, elsewhere. When this index was nearing completion, it occurred to us that, as long as we made sufficient disclaimers about its pretensions, it could be useful if we were to publish it as an appendix to the Dictionary. It was accordingly fully rechecked and extended to include terms from certain other related articles, and a style was devised for its printing. To make it more useful, we added a brief definition of each term and a system of asterisks to indicate whether each entry signified a full discussion, a descriptive outline, or merely a passing reference. The index will occupy some 75 pages at the back of the final volume of the Dictionary. Users must understand, however, that it is not a worldwide dictionary of musical terms, and that it makes no claims to comprehensiveness; it is no more than an index to the terminology used in certain articles in the Dictionary and a guide to its orthography. The attached illustration, drawn from a typographical trial run—and not representative of the material that will actually appear—may serve to indicate the nature of this index.

It may be useful to indicate some of the areas in which we feel that our articles have gone substantially beyond anything previously printed in musical lexicography. First, I would mention our coverage of the great cultures of Asia—China, India, Indonesia, and Japan. Each of these has a sizeable article, contributed by a team of scholars, some of them from the countries themselves and some from the West (each article occupies more than three times the columnage of the corresponding entry in the monumental German encyclopedia, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*). The texts are, of course, supported by substantial bibliographies. The American continent is covered much more fully and more methodically than has previously been attempted. There are individual entries on all the countries of Latin America, some of them very substantial; the overviews for America include the principal discussion of traditions that cannot logically be considered within the confines of individual countries (for example, American Indian music has its fullest consideration in the article “North America”). For the United States, we have an extended, indeed deepened, version of Charles Seeger’s pioneering article written for the fifth edition. The Soviet Union has an extremely full article, in which the individual musical traditions of its constituent republics are discussed, as well as the music of the distinctive ethnic groups of Central Asia and the Asian part of the RSFSR. We counted ourselves fortunate to be able to secure the ready co-operation of many Soviet scholars, working within the republics on which they are authorities. East European coverage is particularly thorough, and the treatment of the Middle East goes well beyond anything previously attempted. The coverage of Africa has posed exceptional problems, because the political boundaries laid down in the colonial era correspond only in part with prevailing cultural boundaries. It has accordingly been helpful to include in the Dictionary a number of separate entries on the music of cultural groups which straddle two or more countries; these are linked to the national entries by cross-reference.

It remains only to refer to the treatment of illustrations and music-type examples. Almost all our articles on non-Western and folk music are illustrated; many contributors have generously provided us with photographs taken on their own research trips. In such cases illustrations could be especially closely keyed to the text. We have done our best to illustrate instruments of the less familiar kinds, and especially those particular to a single country or region (the West African kora, for example). We have favoured photographs which show instruments being played in their natural surroundings, and as far as possible in typical ensembles. Where photographs cannot show structural details of instruments, we have often provided drawings to demonstrate them more clearly. With the overview articles we have usually included maps, showing the locations of cultural groups or musical regions discussed in the text. This applies too, for example, to our articles on the Americas, and also

to individual articles on several African countries, Brazil, and northern Australia. There are numerous theoretical tables (notably in the article on India), and many diagrams, for example, of ground-plans of gamelan ensembles and of tuning systems. Most major instrument articles begin with composite illustrations designed to show the geographical and structural diversity of the instruments falling under each heading. Notations and manuscript material are illustrated from those countries where they survive; so are illustrations of musically significant archaeological remains from ancient cultures. Music-type examples abound; many of them are more than brief excerpts and are sufficiently extensive to illustrate points made in the text about melodic structure.

When Sir George Grove finished work on the first edition of his dictionary, a friend wrote to congratulate him on completing the task of musical lexicography "once and for all." We have no such illusions, least of all in the field of non-Western and folk music. But we do believe that we have made a serious and methodical attempt to cope with the challenge involved in compiling a truly international musical reference work and have faced up to problems which, if they have previously been considered at all, have been considered intractable.

- Ekbo rattle.** NIGERIA, 3 ii
Ekcepa trumpet. PERU, II 5
Ehere slit-drum. IGBO MUSIC, I
Ehero-like xylophone. IGBO MUSIC, 1°
Ekitina ky'abalere musical ensemble. UGANDA, II 1°, f.2, 10
Ekitimba flute. UGANDA, I 3
Ekitimbho recitations. UGANDA, I 3°
Ekitoko term for various aspects of improvisation. UGANDA, II 2
Ekitouenge Ugandan gourd bow. MUSICAL BOW, 3°
Ekô Buddhist chant. JAPAN, II 3 ii
 See kigan
Ekoa bell. LATIN AMERICA, III 4 i
 See agogô, gan, organ
Ekpere (1) trumpet. NIGERIA, 3 ii
 See egbe, okhe, okpai, okpe, ukba
 (2) *drum.* IGBO MUSIC, I
Ekpiri rattle. IGBO MUSIC, 1°
Ek-tâl tala (time pattern). INDIA, SUBCONTINENT OF, II 5 iii, ex.1, t.18
 See eka
Ektârâ plucked drum. BANGLADESH, 3 i, 5°, f.1
 Sûd gopijantira, gupijantira
Ektârâ lute. INDIA, SUBCONTINENT OF, VI 2°, PAKISTAN, 4 iv°, 5 v
 See dambûru, king, tumbû, yuktârâ
Ekwa slit-drum. IGBO MUSIC, I
 See ekwe
Ekwe slit-drum. IGBO MUSIC, 1°, 2, f.2b; NIGERIA, 3 iii
 See ekwu, ekwo, ekwu, okwo
Ekwe òkhe funeral performance. IGBO MUSIC, 2°
Ekwe-embaka slit-drum. IGBO MUSIC, 1°
Ekwo slit-drum. IGBO MUSIC, 1°
 See ekwe
Ekwo slit-drum. IGBO MUSIC, 1°
 See ekwe
Ekyalo ky'abalere trumpeters' village. UGANDA, II 1
Ekyevugo recitation. UGANDA, I 3°°
 See ehyevugo
Eldelem dirge. MICRONESIA, 2 ii
Electric guitar. CONGOLESE MUSIC; ELECTRIC GUITAR°, GOSPEL MUSIC, II 2 iii; PAN-PACIFIC POP; SOMALI DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC; TANGO; TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO; UPPER VOLTA, 3; ZAIRE, 6
Electric organ. GOSPEL MUSIC, II 2 iii; SOMALI DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC; TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO
Elele notched flute. NIGERIA, 3 ii
 See alele, ulele
Elo bell. NIGERIA, 3 ii
El pave dance form. CHILE, II 2 iii
Elizager friction drum. BASQUE MUSIC, 3
 See zambomba
El u l el òs circle-dance. SPAIN, II 7 ix°
Eluma flute dance. STOPPED FLUTE ENSEMBLE
Eluvira Mapuche rite with recitation and song. CHILE, II 1 iv°
Embaga ensemble, dance or feast. UGANDA, II 1°
Embal ornament. JAPAN, III 1 iii
Embalada dramatic representation in bailado dance. BRAZIL, II 3 iii, ex.23
Embita notched flute. ETHIOPIA, 4° f.3; STOPPED FLUTE ASSEMBLY
Embolada (1) song form. BRAZIL, II 1 iii, 3 iv°°; LATIN AMERICA, II 1;
 (2) *musical area.* BRAZIL, II 1 ii

Figure 1. Sample segment of the ethnomusicology index from *The New Grove*.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Stone Age and Promised Land:
An Answer to James Reid

In *Ethnomusicology* 21(3):415-433 James Reid presents his ideas on "Transcription in a New Mode" which, on a purely technical level, are interesting contributions to the many problems of ethnomusicological transcription. Since, however, he presents his ideas as a possible solution or at least a significant step towards a solution of the seemingly never ending problems of transcription, the article deserves comment.

Anyone attacking the use of Western notation in ethnomusicology on grounds of ethnocentricity can be assured of a fair amount of applause since Western notation obviously was not invented for use in non-Western music. However, it strikes me as somewhat demagogic to denounce Western notation for ethnocentricity and then to propose a solution hardly less ethnocentric and elitist than the system it is meant to replace.

Or is the graph-type representation of two interrelated variables not also a brain-child of Western scholarship in the same way as Western notation is a brainchild of Western musicianship? Is not graph notation as elitist as Western notation in the sense that it is incomprehensible to the vast majority? What does it mean if Reid requires of a transcription that "it should be accessible not only to a trained elite" (p. 420)? Do the people who are able to read his (or any other) transcription represent anything other than a trained elite? "Ethnocentricity" and "elitism" are like "racism"—slogans relatively safe to use since hardly anybody will come to the defense of the things these slogans designate, and wherever they appear they tend to set in motion certain reflexes (anxious denial) and tend to block certain higher brain functions (reflexion). "Ethnocentricity" or "cultural bias" are inevitably acquired with knowledge, since there is no specific knowledge outside of a specific cultural environment. In order not to have developed a cultural bias somebody would have to have grown up outside of *any* cultural, i.e. human, environment. Ethnocentricity cannot be eliminated by simple declaration, however well intentioned. In fact, it cannot be eliminated at all since to get completely rid of it we would have to get rid of all ethnocentrically acquired knowledge, and that means *all* knowledge.

Even when an ethnomusicologist gets deeply involved with a non-Western culture he is not shedding cultural bias and returning to some blessed state of original innocence, but is adding another "bias" to the first one; successful handling of that complex situation will depend on how well he is

aware of *both*, not on how well he can suppress the first one. Thus, I cannot see how *any* transcription can ever meet Reid's requirement to "preclude ethnocentric bias on the part of the transcriber" (p. 420). Any method of transcription, Western notation or graph notation, will accurately reflect the knowledge (including biases) of the transcriber; where the help of a machine is enlisted, the transcription will reflect the bias of its inventor. To believe that a melograph transcription is objective ("The melograph tells the truth and nothing but the truth" p. 418) is pure superstition.¹ It does not tell the truth but the gospel according to its inventor; everyone is free to believe in it, but should be conscious that he is committing an act of faith.

In his case against the use of Western notation Reid presents the argument that "many outstanding non-Western musicians excluded from scholarship that may involve their own music merely because they do not read the notation of a wholly alien musical culture" (p. 416). If non-Western musicians are excluded *merely* because they cannot read Western music notation we should indeed remedy this situation immediately. But I suspect that the substitution of graph-notation would not be more than a cosmetic change and strongly doubt that it would lead to a sudden surge of interest in ethnomusicology among non-Western musicians. Western notation may be one element among many that exclude non-Western musicians from participating in ethnomusicology, but the main reason is ethnomusicology itself, which in most of its methods and goals is wholly alien to the vast majority of musicians, Western or non-Western.

The argument is particularly specious in the case of Japanese musicians. Western music is hardly a "wholly alien musical culture" in Japan—it is the predominant one, whether ethnomusicologists like it or not. Reid is studying the music of *gagaku* and can hardly have failed noticing that the musicians of the Imperial Orchestra are fluent in Western notation to the extent that they are able to perform rather complex scores of contemporary music written for *gagaku* orchestra (e.g. works by Takemitsu Tōru, and Karl-Heinz Stockhausen).

What has prompted Reid to write his essay is "the feeling that the issues involved in the transcription problem must not yet be fully understood" (p. 415). That may very well be so but I doubt that his reflection on that subject is a significant "step out of the methodological Stone Age, as represented by the ill-suited and ethnocentric tool of Western notation" (p. 431). At the end of the evolutionary ladder that we cave dwellers are urged by Reid to climb lies the Promised Land of an "eventual universal transcription system (which) we so urgently require" (p.431).

One of the few undisputed achievements of ethnomusicology is that it has brought to our attention an immense variety of very differently structured musical styles. I fear that any transcriptional method that tries to deal with

any conceivable analytical question in any conceivable musical style would turn out not to be a most desirable tool but a clumsy and deadly weapon. After all, Western music notation *was* once considered such a universal transcription system. This notion fortunately is about to be abandoned and replaced by the insight that the enormous variety of musical styles and the variety of possible analytical questions require an approach to transcription characterized by openness to its problems and methodological flexibility, not by a set of preconceived requirements, which in the case of Reid's seven basic criteria (p. 419-20) have to be modified to meaninglessness in order to be applicable. For example, among those seven basic criteria Reid lists (p.419): "A transcription should aspire to a melograph-type accuracy, unattainable though such a goal will always be." I strongly doubt the wisdom of setting up a basic criterion that is forever unattainable. If melograph-type accuracy is the goal, why not use a melograph? If such accuracy is never attainable, to what degree of unattainability does the transcriber have to aspire? What sense does it make to list criteria that a transcription *must* meet, then to preface them with the caveat (p.419) that "other musical types and cultures may . . . create different requirements"?

Let us now examine Reid's transcription of *Nasori no Kyû*. He says that in a transcription in Western notation "the reader who looks at the first phrase of *Nasori no kyû* sees the pitches b-c'-e'-f#'-g', and from this alone he is quite likely to conclude that the mode is [of the *ritsu* type] with pitch b as degree 1 . . . [which is] an error of the utmost gravity" (p.426-431). Apart from the fact that nobody would draw such a conclusion from the first phrase of a piece *alone*, nobody *can* do so since the phrase in question is not the opening phrase of the piece. The opening phrase of *Nasori no Kyû* Reid did not transcribe apparently because it is not played on the *hichiriki* but on the *komabue*; since he did not study this instrument, he simply omits the beginning of the piece. What he describes as the "opening phrase," however, is not the first phrase of the *hichiriki* part either: the real first phrase is missing, as is the second half of the piece including the coda (*tomede*). If Reid did not recommend Harich-Schneider's transcription (1973:573) for comparison with his own, I would be inclined to think that we are talking about two different pieces.² Reid mentions in passing that the absolute pitches in Western notation generally used to represent this mode are: e', f' sharp, g', b', c' (p. 426).³ It would have been only fair to also mention that the discrepancies between these pitches and the ones he measured are not due to any form of cultural bias on the part of Western musicologists who subscribe to the "uncritical acceptance of Western notation" (p.415). These are the theoretical pitches of traditional *gagaku* music theory, and the basic discrepancy lies between this theory and the equally traditional performance practice.⁴ Therefore there is good reason to use the theoretical pitches for a transcrip-

tion, unless one is analyzing performance practice as opposed to theory, which apparently is not the aim of Reid's transcription. Apart from these shortcomings Reid's transcription is an example of a development that leads to ever more detailed and complex visual representation of sound.⁵ This may be regarded as a progress, but if transcription is to be more than an abstract exercise in aural perception its degree of complexity must correspond with the expected type of analytical questions.

Transcription can never communicate music, but can communicate ideas about music. Even a bad recording gives a better impression of *hichiriki* music than the finest transcription can hope to convey to somebody who has never heard this instrument before. Transcription cannot successfully introduce an unknown musical style to the reader; this must be done by performance. Transcription can, however, be a useful device in discussing certain aspects of music, and a prime criterion for its quality is whether it visually represents those aspects. Whether a transcription is good or bad cannot be judged by the sheer mass of information it contains. It should be judged by its appropriateness to the problems the transcriber has set out to solve. What then are the questions Mr. Reid's transcription should help to clarify? Reid gives little indication of what he intends to do with his "transcription in a new mode." To show that his method is an improvement Reid would have to prove that his transcription enables him to make significant statements that cannot possibly be obtained from a more conventional transcription—otherwise invention of new transcription methods deteriorates into a futile and complacent exercise in aural perception. The task of the transcriber is not unrelated to that of a cartographer. Like a skillful cartographer the transcriber has to select for visual representation those features he knows to be significant in order to guide the reader through the music. The cartographer will not include *all* perceptible details of the landscape and he will draw different maps for the hiker and the driver of a car. The allpurpose map is in most cases one that serves no purpose well. Likewise a transcription that tries to represent all audible facts ("the truth and nothing but the truth") is bound to fail from the outset: *The only system containing all information about music is music itself.*

Kamakura, Japan

Andreas Gutzwiller

NOTES

1. I would like to draw the reader's attention to Shafer's discussion of related problems (1977: 123-129).

2. My criticism of Reid's transcription is based on recordings by two different orchestras, the Kunaigakudan (Orchestra of the Imperial Household, KC 1028) and the Nippon Gagaku Kai (SW-5020). Their performances are nearly identical and correspond closely to the transcription by Harich-Schneider.

3. This is wrong. The correct pentatonic form of *Koma Ichikotsuchô* is: e, f#, g#, b, c# (Koizumi 1974: 38).

4. "Since the discrepancy between theory and performance has become wide, it is impossible to precisely designate a sequence of notes, or even the exact number of notes, to any mode. Actually, the prescribed notes found within any one composition (in a designated mode), will vary in pitch from instrument to instrument and/or voice" (Koizumi 1974: 39).

5. It is characteristic for Reid's approach that, while he transcribes the *hichiriki* part of *Nasori no Kyû* in exhausting detail, he pays little attention to the parts of the other instruments or to the form of the piece.

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RESPONSE TO TOUMA

I would like to respond to the thoughtful and expert review of my book, *Makam: Modal Practice in Turkish Art Music*; the review appeared in *Ethnomusicology* 23(2):359-362 (May 1978).

Readers of *Ethnomusicology* who also follow the journal *The World of Music* were probably surprised to find the same review, by the same writer, virtually word-for-word, in Volume 20 (1) (1978) of the latter serial. Were the respective editors of the two journals aware that they did not have an exclusive contribution? I am personally opposed to more than one review by the same writer of the same book, on the grounds that the scholarly community deserves as many diverse opinions as possible.

The review examines each chapter of the book and raises a number of questions, all of which helps the reader to form a picture of the style, content, and reliability of the book. Some of the comments require a response on my part.

First, I am grateful to learn of the existence of such an excellent source for musical scores as the 1936 (not 1836, as given in *The World of Music*) book by Kutmani. "Şamlı İskender" Kutmani, a publisher, issued over 4,000 Turkish classical and light classical pieces in his lifetime (Sözer 1964), a signal contribution to the art.

I do not see any disagreement between myself, Gürmeriç, and the reviewer on the question of the primacy of scale in defining *makam*. No one but a freshman conservatory student believes anymore that a mode is simply a scale; my entire book proves otherwise, as do the *seyir*-s of Gürmeriç. Nevertheless, of all the qualities that a *makam* has, its most easily identified one is its intervallic structure.

When people begin to talk about intervals smaller than two cents, I lose interest; this is beyond the discriminatory ability of the human auditory process. Whether a comma is 23.46 or 22.6415 cents is a problem for mathematicians, not musicologists, it seems to me.

Yes, more *taksim*-s need to be transcribed, as do the *seyir*-s of Tanburi Necdet Yaşar, Neyzen Niyazi Sayın, and Hafız Kâni Karaca. I hope to do so myself and to help and encourage others.

No, stereotyped motives are not imaginary. They are a bit elusive, in that they are expected, but there may be a choice between several motives, and the performer or composer inserts one or more at will wherever it is most effective. They are rather like fleas on a dog. If you know what one looks like and how it behaves, you can find it.

Mood, or ethos, the equivalent of *rasa* in Indian *raga*, is a weak concept in Turkish *makam* today. Some major artists deny its existence, and even those who do associate moods, such as "mystical," "sensuous," or "pastoral" with certain *makams*, do not agree. In the Islamic liturgy, *makam* usage is sometimes linked with hours of the day and chapters of long texts. This is a minor question, suitable for a master's thesis, I would think.

The reviewer inadvertently overlooked a few important qualities of the book. If I may be immodest: it is the first book in English on any aspect of Turkish classical music, one of the major high art traditions of the world. It is also the only book in print in any language, including Turkish, to treat *makam* at length and in detail. There are 114 musical examples.

In the wake of the modest renaissance that Turkish classical music seems to have enjoyed in the past five years, my sincere hope is that a Turk will read this first effort and resolve to create yet another point of view.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Bassin, Ethel. *The Old Songs of Skye: Frances Tolmie and Her Circle*. Derek Bowman, ed. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977. 158 pp. & 58 pp. notes, appendices, index of persons. \$13.50.

Campbell, J. L. and Francis Collinson. *Hebridean Folksongs II: Waulking Songs From Barra, South Uist, Eriskay and Benbecula*. Edited and Translated by J. L. Campbell. Tunes Transcribed From Recordings and Annotated by Francis Collinson. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977. 185 pp. & 181 pp. notes, musical transcriptions, glossarial index, index of persons and places. \$34.50.

Daguerrotypes and verbal descriptions lead one to picture Frances Tolmie (1840-1926) as a figure from a painting by Millais or Holman Hunt. Auburn-haired and Junoesque, she seems to conform to the stereotype of the Victorian lady of independent means, engrossed in antiquities of various sorts, busily quizzing peasant informants and publishing the results as an expression of survivals from an earlier stage of culture. But this would be an altogether too simplified picture of the woman described in Ethel Bassin's book. Tolmie (the name is Gaelic) grew up in an enlightened manse in the Isle of Skye, moved in the cultured circles of Edinburgh society and the first women students at Cambridge, experienced the group around Ruskin in the Lake District, and travelled extensively as companion to Harriette Rigbye, a well-to-do amateur water-colorist and friend of Ruskin. Bilingual in Gaelic and English, Frances Tolmie included in her reading J. F. Campbell's great work of 1860-62, *Popular Tales From the West Highlands*, and was personally acquainted with Alexander Carmichael, editor of *Carmina Gadelica* (1900). Throughout her life she made a special study of traditional Gaelic song and lore, a preoccupation which bore fruit in the publication (*Journal of the Folk Song Society*, 1911) of 105 songs from the Western Isles of Scotland.

Bassin's study reflects this love of Gaelic song and tradition in general, recounting in some detail Tolmie's record of a valuable part of Highland culture, that culture whose demise has been heralded or lamented from the 18th century to the present day—even by Frances Tolmie herself (p. 111). Ethel Bassin, daughter of a Russian rabbi converted to the Free Church of Scotland by a missionary in Constantinople, spent her childhood in Edinburgh, later teaching music in the Highlands and Islands at Portree, Skye, and Dingwall, Ross-shire. During these years in the Highlands she collected traditional Gaelic songs. Her interest in the work of the Folk Song Society, Lucy Broadwood—who was instrumental in seeing Tolmie's songs through the press—and Frances Tolmie herself, led her to document much of the cultural and social background to Tolmie's work. This book was still being revised at the time of Bassin's death in 1964. It has been edited by Derek Bowman, Lecturer in German Studies at the University of Edinburgh.

For anyone engaged by aspects of traditional British culture at the turn of the century, this book makes rewarding reading. Its one weakness, alas, is its lack of discussion of the music itself. Almost entirely a historical and social

study, full of intriguing sketches that evoke the gentility, taste, and class-consciousness of the time, it must be considered misleading in its title; the subtitle, in fact, should have been the main one. There is some musing on the distortions wrought by Marjorie Kennedy-Fraser in her drawing-room accompaniments and arrangements of Gaelic song (Chapter 13), but scant analysis of the actual music, textual or melodic. Scattered throughout the book are 30 music examples, most plucked from the 1911 volume of the *Journal*. The first example (*Journal*, 1) has a layout of English translation before Gaelic text, which is inconsistent with later examples where the translation follows the original. There is also some inconsistency of citation in the footnoting for quotations in the text (e.g., notes 9 and 12, p. 10). The printing of the music is generally accurate, but in one or two instances notes are ambiguous (cf. the first note of Ex. 18, which looks like a D but should be an E; likewise the high F's, which look like G's, in Ex. 22).

Five appendices add a chronological table of songs from the 1911 *Journal*, songs which Tolmie gave to Kennedy-Fraser, different versions of "A' Bhean Eudach" ("The Jealous Woman"), Tolmie's MS "Reminiscences," and her narrative written for a parish magazine, "Oirig & Gormul." Bassin's conclusions stress the importance of Tolmie's collecting activity as the work of a native familiar with the language and culture from the inside. Not merely that, but the singers were valued by her as much as the songs. Her scholarly care was by way of tribute to these persons and, while her outlook was circumscribed by the social condition of her times ("Aunt Fanny could never have told a vulgar story," as a niece remarked), her world of tradition was all of a piece: tales, legends, beliefs, children's games, genealogy, and place-names were living facets of traditional culture. Modest about her achievement, she is still a figure of interest in the history of song scholarship in the British Isles. Those who need a fuller picture of a woman known only by name and reputation can certainly be encouraged to read this book.

Many of the songs conveyed by Tolmie to Lucy Broadwood for publication were waulking songs, which formed an integral part of the labor of shrinking cloth in the Highlands. The character and structure of these songs receives some attention in Bassin's Chapter 2 (pp. 10-13). Eight from the 1911 *Journal* have analogues in the second volume under consideration here, *Hebridean Folksongs*, Vol. II: 51 (*Hebridean Folksongs* 46), 53 (74), 66 (57), 73 (67), 74 (77), 78 (69), 90 (41a), and 94 (71). The second of three projected volumes, it contains a further 48 waulking songs recorded in the islands of Barra (the majority), Vatersay, South Uist, and Benbecula between 1937 and 1965. In Volume I (1969), the songs written down by Donald MacCormick in 1893 were printed in the order in which they occurred in the MS. But in the present book and the forthcoming Volume III the songs are classified according to meter and refrain structure, "thus bringing songs of the same type together and facilitating the study of the very archaic and interesting airs of these songs" (Introduction, p. 3).

Comparing the layout of his and Collinson's joint production with that of *Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs* (1951) by Bartók and Lord, J. L. Campbell (not to be confused with his fellow scholars J. F. and J. G. Campbell) argues—justifiably, I think—for the practical necessity of separating tunes and texts for study. Actually, the layout of their book, vis-à-vis that of Bartók and Lord, is reversed: texts here occupy the first part, tunes the second. And this perhaps

reflects the relative weight of the respective contributions. While Campbell's commentaries on the songs are often quite extensive in comparison to Lord's normally brief comments, Collinson's "musicological notes" (pp. 255-68) look underrepresentative when juxtaposed with Bartók's 80-odd pages of morphological analysis of the Serbo-Croatian material. But such a comparison, possibly, should be restricted to one of form rather than content, and it would be unwise to hold up this work against the Bartók-Lord because of differing kinds of data and analytical approach.

I would take issue with Campbell's assertion that traditional oral culture is "very rare in western Europe today" (p. 7). Ethnologists, folklorists, and other scholars have been demonstrating that there are, on the contrary, many areas of western Europe in which such culture exists (no "still"): mountain regions (the Alps, Scandinavia) and the Mediterranean basin are particularly apposite examples. It is, perhaps, the "archaic" nature of the songs to which Campbell is implicitly referring, although material so termed has this annoying tendency to recycle itself *de temps en temps*. Of course the verbal content is of some interest to literary students of traditional song; but so equally, are the tunes in their rhythmic and tonal dimensions. The singers, too, repay study for stylistic traits; Campbell pays them due homage in his introductory section (pp. 6-7). One of these, Mrs. Neil McInnis, of mixed Barra and South Uist descent, was recorded on Cape Breton Island in 1937.

The tunes are transposed to pitches convenient for key-signature and for the confines of the staff. For comparative purposes it would no doubt have been advantageous to have all melodies reduced to a G final. But there are problems with this practice (which do not affect, say, narrow-range melodies of Slavic tradition). The G clef is often unsuitable for wide-ranging tunes, and it may be that musicologists have become too reliant on this particular clef; a C clef, for example, might be used to facilitate writing such tunes without the necessity of ledger lines. Collinson pays some attention to what philologists have called the *svarabhakti* vowel, a factor that often gives rise to an extra syllable in the melody. Although he continues to employ the terminology of the church modes for classifying scales, he does not defend this usage although it has been under attack in recent times. Nor does he present an *apologia* for the term "gapped" in referring to hexatonic scales (pentatonic scales, presumably also gapped according to this way of looking at tonal structures, are not so called here). Collinson eludes the tricky question of "cyclic" tunes and their tonal center by classifying all melodies by final, the point of ending in a waulking song invariably being the end of the refrain (or one of the refrains where there is more than one). All in all, the transcriptions are meticulous and nicely printed, though the metronome markings are not always given (e.g., songs 45, 64). The print of the footnotes is sometimes irritatingly miniscule.

But it must be admitted, despite these criticisms, that this is a worthy attempt to add to the corpus of such songs available for study. Campbell's erudition in Gaelic matters is evident in his occasionally copious notes (pp. 186-254), his six-page discussion of that scholars' favorite "Chailin òig as stiùramache" being a case in point. A welcome adjunct to the book might have been a record of selected performances in order to demonstrate those aspects of waulking songs (pitch variance, rhythm, texture) that are lost in conventional transcription, and not dealt with in the analysis. Readers can be referred to outstanding examples of commercial sound recordings of waulking

available from various sources (Ocora OCR 45; Tangent TNGM 110, 111).¹ Finally, the daunting price of this volume may alienate many scholars from OUP. Who else, apart from libraries and those of independent means, can afford such an inflated retail price?

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NOTE

1. See reviews of these in *Ethnomusicology* 15:447-49; 19:157-58.

McLean, Mervyn. *An Annotated Bibliography of Oceanic Music and Dance*. Wellington, N.Z.: The Polynesian Society, 1977. 252 pp.

Writing a review of a bibliography is akin to trying to test the pudding without eating it. Like reading a dictionary, one's attention is arrested by new or forgotten entries, details and usages not thought of before, players unknown or taking new parts, and items the implications of which were not fully realized are now made understandable. Interspersed upon this stage are entries leaned on as old friends, and even some you thought no one else would ever find emerge to greet you. This, of course, is what one expects from a bibliography and McLean's offering fulfills these expectations in the most useful manner.

Arranged alphabetically and chronologically by author, each entry is then annotated. The first annotation, such as OQ10, is an area code adapted from the Human Relations Area Files as set forth in 1963 by George Peter Murdock's *Outline of World Cultures*. This area code is spelled out in the "key to area codings" and in the area index itself—for the example given above, O = Oceania, Q = Fiji, 10 = the island of Viti Levu. "General or unspecific" entries precede the entries for individual islands or cultural groups. Where HRAF coding was found inadequate, it has been supplemented—often with detailed categories. For example, OJ, New Guinea, is broken down into 231 named group and area categories, including such little-known peoples as the Fasu, Kamboa, or the Punayati.

Following the area code in the annotation are page numbers referring to music of that area code in general or to pages of the more specific annotations that follow—which again may be quite detailed to include genres, types of musical instruments, photographic references, and such erratic information as a "dance to accompaniment of singing and 'an instrument covered with fish bladder and shaped like a funnel'" (p. 62).

Of infinite use is the inclusion of both record and book reviews, listed not only by the author of the review, but also as part of the annotation of the book, article, or record reviewed. Even with the inclusion of reviews and the shortest and most general of articles gleaned from all possible sources (including several major libraries as well as correspondence with those authors still living) it may come as a considerable surprise that all (or most, because McLean does not claim completeness) that has hitherto been written about

the music of Oceania can be listed *and* annotated in less than 200 pages. It is not that McLean has not been thorough. He has. There can be few works on or including music or musical instruments that have escaped his net. A few dance references may not have been captured, but even this specialized group is quite well represented. The reader can only conclude that there remains much work still to be done on music of Oceania. It is apparent that our knowledge of music in this very large and diverse area is woefully inadequate and perhaps this bibliography will be instrumental in stimulating research.

A systematic perusal of the authors reveals only a few of those familiar in SEM circles—Christensen, Kaeppler, Laade, McLeod, and Smith. Others, known but too seldom seen, include Chenoweth, Keali'inohomoku, McLean, A. Moyle, R. Moyle, and Zemp, while yet others such as Clausen, Crowe, Jablonko, and Rossen are known only to the hard-core Oceanic specialist. With so few Oceanic music specialists alive and well, what can be the state of the study of Oceanic music? And where are the indigenous scholars? Apart from Biggs, Dewes, S. Mead, Vini, Williamson, and a few others who work primarily on song texts, the field remains largely one of outsiders. Perhaps the paucity of meaningful research by outsiders, as documented in this volume, will encourage the work of Pacific Islanders on their own music.

The largest proportion of research seems to have been carried out on traditional Maori music, notably the work of McLean himself. The large number of Maori entries could reflect McLean's familiarity with this area—but I doubt that is the reason. If one compares McLean's work with the specialized Hawaiian music bibliography of Tatar (1975), prepared at much the same time as McLean's, he has not missed much. Nor has McLean emphasized the "music" over the "ethno," although he is probably more interested in the former—easily seen by examining his own entries.

A minor problem is that the only index is by area, and anyone wanting to find articles dealing with lullabies, for example, or musical instruments, or dance, will have to go through page by page, entry by entry. But there are so many references to dance and musical instruments it is best to do just that—go through entry by entry—or use the area index.

The perpetual problem with bibliographies is adding new material, which one hopes will be considerable in the next few years. Dare we hope that McLean might publish an annual supplement in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*? And could we request a discography as a second course?

Bishop Museum, Honolulu

Adrienne L. Kaeppler

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Nattiez, Jean-Jacques. *Fondements d'une sémiologie de la musique*. Paris: Union Générale d'Editions, 1975. 448 pp., paperback.

The indefinite article in the title of this remarkable publication ("*une sémiologie*") is significant. Right from the beginning the author clearly recognizes the existence of several semiotic systems and in the course of his study pays ample tribute to various approaches to the subject that wholly or partly differ from his own. He calls his book "a work of synthesis" and indeed it takes on an almost encyclopedic dimension. It goes without saying that the use of a work of this kind is highly dependent on a detailed index. This index, however, is entirely lacking and, according to the information I received, it was the publisher who preposterously decided against its inclusion. Furthermore, since the volume contains a great number of musical examples and diagrams, its presentation in the form of a "pocket book" seems particularly unsuited. A study like the present one requires publication as a substantial paperback, at the very least. If, as I hope, it will have to be reprinted soon, then one would also welcome more careful proofreading; the number of typographical errors is inadmissably high.

The opening discussion of the relationship between musical semiotics and other semiotic disciplines involves the treatment of basic problems: e.g. whether music is a language, so that linguistic models and procedures can be safely applied to its analysis. Charles Seeger (1977:2) was one of the first musical scholars to point out convincingly that musicology has a lot to learn from linguistics and today many researchers follow his path. A few among them try to make us believe that the mere transposition of linguistic models will solve all epistemological problems concerning the nature of music. Far from adopting this dogmatic point of view, Nattiez takes a much more careful position, aiming not primarily at the construction of a musical semiotic system based on linguistics, but giving in his approach to the various problems "a privileged place" to that discipline (p. 12). This position is gradually clarified and finally formulated in the Conclusion: Linguistics can serve the musical semiotician only in cases where music is approximate to language to such an extent that transposition of models is no longer to be considered metaphorical (p. 399).

The danger of wishful thinking found among the believers in the universal applicability of linguistic theories is still more apparent in the treatment of music as a semiotic system for "social psycho-analysis." Here the author takes a stronger critical position. He exposes, for example, the reasoning of Roland Barthes (1970:168-170) who seemingly analyzes but actually interprets a performance by the baritone Gérard Souzay, arriving at the conclusion that the latter's performative signs connote the principal characteristics of bourgeois vocal art. Nattiez lucidly shows how Barthes manipulates the concepts of *signans* and *signatum* in order to reach his conclusion (pp. 39-44).

These two sides of the sign, *signans* (signifier, *signifiant*) and *signatum* (signified, *signifié*) lead to a vital question with regard to the semiotic analysis of a musical object. Should the analyst proceed from the *signatum* to the *signans* or vice-versa? Nattiez—and I completely agree with him—leaves no doubt that the former procedure is particularly dangerous and in many cases methodologically fallacious. To start from extra-musical data and to project

these onto a musical object is tempting, especially for the non-musical scholar, but inevitably results in unfalsifiable conclusions. Still, this methodological approach has been practiced by musicologists as well. The author mentions several examples including the folksong studies by Antonín Sychra (1948), who on the basis of Mukařovsky's structural theory assumes *a priori* a function before analyzing a song, and the Bach analyses by Albert Schweitzer (1905), who proceeds from a rather arbitrarily chosen text word in studying a cantata. While these scholars, despite the application of doubtful methods, nevertheless arrive at interesting and discussible results, others who replace facts by mere ideology fall into nonsensical statements. It has been claimed, for instance, that in terms of its structure tonal music, with its regulated functions, corresponds almost exactly with bourgeois economy, including its social injustice (Heinz-Klaus Metzger 1970, cited on p. 413). Among the followers of Adorno, several have made analogous statements.

The opposite method, according to which one proceeds from the signans to the signatum, has been clearly formulated by F. Orlando in a study of the semantics of the Wagnerian leitmotiv in the *Ring* (1975:75): "During the first phase, the analysis of the signantia must avoid being guided or even influenced in any way whatsoever by the signata introduced by the verbal language. The confrontation between the two will be all the more interesting in a second phase, but only after the musical analysis has been completed or has at least reached one of its stages." If applied to the study of other musical objects, the notion of "verbal language" contained in this statement can of course be replaced by any extra-musical data pertaining to the music in question. Michael Asch, for example, applies the method in his musical analysis and study of the social context of Slavey Drum Dance Songs (1975), arriving at the conclusion that on a specific level the formal qualities of the songs are independent from the context of performance (Nattiez, pp. 415-416). An investigation starting from the social signata would certainly have failed to uncover this fact. Nattiez also mentions studies by Colin McPhee (on the Balinese *Gamelan Gambuh*, 1966) and Norma McLeod (on the Blanket Rite of the Lower Kutenai, 1971). In both cases the extra-musical signata are inductively determined through the analysis of the musical signantia. Two mutually opposite procedures are combined in the method of Charles Boilès (1969), who studied the music of the Mexican Otomi by establishing categories of all signantia denoting the same signatum, as well as by grouping all identical signantia referring to different signata. After the completion of this double inquiry only those elements were retained that corresponded with each other in both the direction signatum-signans and signans-signatum (pp. 161-163).

This brings us to the delicate question of musical semantics, which for a long time has been considered by many aestheticians as practically identical with semiotics. What is the exact nature of musical significance? Extremes of opinion are not lacking. Those who interpret music as "a play of forms" (Hanslick, Stravinsky, Jakobson) interpret the signans as a sign vehicle referring to itself. Opposed to these formalists stand the hermeneuticians who regard a sonorous structure as a transmitter or evoker of feelings (Kretschmar, Max d'Ollone). In my opinion, both views are questionable. Is not music signifying itself a semiotic tautology? And if one speaks of feelings, whose feelings are meant? Those of the composer? This seems untenable. Those of

the listener? That the latter's feelings are evoked does not prove in the least that they are "contained" in the musical object. The notion of *Gefühlsinhalt* is often raised but never adequately explained in popular writings on music. For the serious researcher it is nothing more than an empty word.

One wonders why in this context the author does not discuss the important and stimulating publications by Susanne Langer (*Philosophy in a New Key* and *Feeling and Form*). On the basis of Cassirer's *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen* these studies develop a theory of art as a fundamentally symbolic discourse. Nattiez recognizes the symbolic aspect of the musical sign though not in the same way. The relationship between musical semiotics and semantics is determined as follows: Semiotics is the study of the totality of symbolic associations with a musical object; semantics is the study of those verbalizations that analogously with human language are recognized as "cognitive" or "affective" (p. 189). While there may be agreement with regard to the "cognitive" aspects of musical semantics, I have some doubts about the semantic character of the "affective" verbalizations. Apart from objectivated signata, like those contained in the old *Figuralehre* and *Affektenlehre* (the function of which is cognitive rather than affective) these verbalizations amount to nothing more than rationalized emotions or impressions. It is questionable whether these can be taken as semantic entities. Since in contrast to the material nature of the signans the essence of the signatum is conceptual, the verbalization of the listener's impression would, according to Nattiez's definition, have to be understood as a concept. Yet this means that merely by being put into words an affective response falsely assumes the character of objectivity. "Significance" and "effect" are two different things. It seems therefore that the author draws the confines of musical semantics too wide. A narrow definition would have been worse, however. Nattiez accepts both the intrinsic reference of musical units to the paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes, and the psychological induction of relationships with the world outside (p. 214). He presents the two kinds of reference as a superposition of two different semiotic systems, one of which is endo-semantic and the other exo-semantic. Thus he recognizes that music is a semiotic field of extreme complexity.

This complexity calls for a clear distinction among various semiotic levels and for explicit analytical criteria. Nattiez develops his method on the basis of a tripartite model borrowed from Jean Molino (1975:46-49), who distinguishes three levels: the *niveau poïétique* (derived from the Greek word *poiein*, "to make"), the *niveau esthétique* (from *aisthesis*, "perception") and between these two the *niveau neutre*, the neutral level. The *niveau poïétique*, henceforth referred to as p-level, implies all factors leading from the conception to the creation of the musical work, including philosophical, social, psychological, historical, and material motivations or conditions. Analogous implications can be discerned on the *niveau esthétique* (e-level), though in view of the "passive" role of the perceiving subject they do not seem to work in the same way as factors. The neutral level concerns the musical object in its material configuration, detached from the conditions and motivations of both producer and perceiver.

Molino has rightly pointed out that the practice of the human sciences constantly mixes the three levels, thus arriving at divergent, arbitrary, or contradictory results. A main reason for this may be that, although we know

quite a lot about the factors operating on the p-level, we lack the insight into their mutual relationships and consequently are incapable of presenting them in an organized form. In other words we see the separate trees but not the structure of the wood. As for the e-level, here the situation is even worse. Our knowledge about the nature of perception, especially in the field of music, is decidedly poor. Therefore neither p- nor e-level lends itself to "clean" analysis. Under the present circumstances this is only possible on the clinical neutral level, provided that explicit analytical criteria can be found and applied.

Neutral analysis, the description of which occupies the greater part of the book, may appear to us as a "closed" operation based on formalist principles. However its tools are not neutral in an absolute sense but serve as "anchorage" for future study of the p- and e-levels. Actually analysis on the neutral level is but a phase in a complex semio-analytical operation. In this respect Nattiez's use of an alternative term, *propaedeutic level*, is most clarifying.

Since the 18th century music has been analyzed either entirely without the use of explicit criteria or through indiscriminate application of mutually contradicting principles. Equally confusing is the terminological situation: analytical studies swarm with terms like cell, motif, phrase, melody, period, theme, etc., none of which is properly defined. When Gilbert Rouget in studying the songs of the African Dahomey was faced with the impossibility of using one or more of these vague notions, he came upon the idea of adopting the non-parametric element of *repetition* as an operative tool for analysis (1961). In this way he established a procedure which was subsequently developed into a method and applied to medieval songs by Nicolas Ruwet (1972:100-134). Nattiez has in turn adopted this method of taxonomic segmentation based on repetition and put it in a wider semiotic perspective. Moreover by choosing "modern" compositions for analysis, he applies it to chordal structures (next to Debussy's solo piece for flute, *Syrinx*, a fragment of a Brahms Intermezzo is meticulously analyzed on pp. 297-330).

The author's description and application of taxonomic procedures provoke several questions. For example, how restrictive is this method compared to the chaotic freedom of traditional analysis? If it uncovers pertinent structural features, are not others of equal importance left in the dark? Furthermore, exactly how do we distinguish repetition from transformation? And finally: how neutral is the neutral level? (The analyst being a perceiving subject cannot disengage himself from the e-level and operate like a robot). Far from evading the discussion on these and other important issues, Nattiez deals with them in various chapters and particularly in the Conclusion. On some points his defense seems convincing, on others less so. However the strongest argument in favor of the theoretical foundation as well as the method and its application is the fact that these questions *can* be asked and that they are truly discussible. Problems previously undetected have now come to light and precisely because of the very explicitness of the method.

It is virtually impossible, even in an extensive review, to do justice to the vast substance of the book. Several matters thoroughly treated by the author have been passed by: e.g. his discussion of R. Franc  s's studies on musical perception and psychology of aesthetics, and the experimental work in this field by M. Imberty. Another subject left untouched concerns the

determination of stylistic traits, induced by taxonomic analysis. Nattiez devotes a whole chapter to this problem, which involves the question of the applicability of generative grammars and other linguistic models to music.

Since musical semiotics is still an undeveloped discipline, almost everyone studying signs, either as an object- or as a meta-language, is more or less biased in his approach to the work of his colleagues. This is true of the present reviewer also. Nevertheless I hope to have thrown some light on the uncommon merits of the book. Nattiez has created a certain order in the jungle of semiotics and opened interesting perspectives for the study of fundamental problems inherent in musical analysis. Therefore his work may be considered an important step forward. Needless to say, an English edition would be most welcome.

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Sudnow, David. *Ways of the Hand: The Organization of Improvised Conduct*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1978. 155 pp., \$10.00.

An individual who knows the usual range of subjects discussed in *Ethnomusicology* might well wonder what a review of a book on piano improvisation is doing here. The explanation is that the work in question is not a typical example of that genre, which usually contains formulas for producing certain results at the keyboard, but is largely a series of introspections about what goes on in the mind of a performer while learning to improvise jazz. As such, its insights may apply to the performance of other instruments and styles (though the author himself makes no such parallels), and may be of value to philosophers and psychologists interested in a phenomenological account of what goes on in a performer's mind.

The format for these ideas is a roughly chronological record of how David Sudnow, the author, became a jazz pianist, after beginning his studies at a relatively late date while working as an ethnographer in a multi-disciplinary academic program. In his account he tells us much of the thought processes involved as the hand (chiefly the right one) acquires skill in finding its way around the keyboard.

Sudnow analyzes such things as how one learns to gauge the distance between two notes on the keyboard, or how to adjust for the irregular placement of black and white keys. In so doing he elucidates points that others often take for granted. This is one of the great strengths of the book. He also makes interesting parallels between piano playing and other motor skills such as typing and penmanship, and to such movements as carrying a heavy package, walking across the room, and opening a door.

Much of this is related in a refreshingly open manner, which includes some frank discussion of mistakes made while learning. These add human warmth to the book, and provide a narrative thread to the early parts of it, which helps to maintain the reader's interest. (The ending, with its almost unrelieved string of introspections, is much duller, like most "success" stories.) A quotation, which analyzes in retrospect the source of one of his problems, should illustrate the insights which are among the work's strengths (p. 36):

I was learning to play jazz music in what can be loosely regarded as a backward direction. In first language learning one initially acquires facility with a restricted set of terms, and then moves through an ever more extensive use of capabilities for new trajectories of movement. I was aimed from the outset and nearly always in my practicing for the most complex doings. It was as if one tried to speak a new language by somehow plunging right into a serious intellectual conversation, trying to talk coherently at a proper conversation pace and, more than that, to deliver a lengthy monologue.

Unfortunately the book also has some serious problems. One of them is the variability of quality of its prose style. There are many fine passages, like the above, including some admirable stream-of-consciousness ones. However, one must also wade through page after page that is opaque, pretentious, and overloaded with technical jargon chosen from a variety of academic disciplines. Consider the following description of a right hand improvisation (p. 126):

Taking breaths, starting "late" into a course of such handfully available, rockingly swift moves over notes digitally present, after the

left-hand stretch had already settled into its now sounding, melodied place; swiftly pacing a move through such at-fingertip notes toward a firm prospective accentual landing, able to rock up and down or doubly over such a handful; doing manifold possibilities with a digitally anchored passage aimed toward that firm prospectivity; finding I could move from familiar way to familiar way, a security of aim experienced in that very fact, the jazz seen and heard in it as well; a singability enabled, at least, in being thoroughgoingly wayful—finding this I did springboarding in many ways, as here: . . .

Although the book contains many musical examples, their unusual notation—diagrams of the keyboard, with markings or numbers on them to show which notes were played, and in what order—is tedious to read, awkward for indicating long passages, and not flexible enough to show rhythm. It is unfortunate that some extended examples in traditional notation were not included to help clarify some of the work's more difficult passages.

It could also be argued that Sudnow's philosophy of improvisation is curiously limited. He states (p. 146 in his italics): "*For there is no melody, there is melodying.*" He holds that what is occurring at the moment is all that is relevant to the improviser. Thoughts of the resulting melody, form, or overall structure are of no concern to him.

Some of this attitude may be a result of the particular bebop style within which Sudnow works. (It is hard to tell definitely because he never analyzes it directly, nor does he compare it with any other style.) It appears to me, though, that while he does play with musical ideas creatively as they arise in performance, his chief concern is to keep the thread of the improvisation from breaking. He does not realize that this skill, when once acquired, could be put at the service of other musical goals. Certainly it can be appropriate, even in improvisation, to attempt to create a certain mood, or melodic character, or form.

Despite its weaknesses this book is still recommended to anyone interested in the thoughts of a performer while improvising, for much of what it has to say is valuable. I also know of no other work concerning music that is even remotely like it.

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BRIEFLY MENTIONED

Baroni, Mario, and Carlo Jacoboni. *Proposal for a Grammar of Melody*. Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1978. 155 pp., musical examples, tables. \$15.75.

Although this book deals with an analysis of the Bach Chorales, an area some ethnomusicologists would tend to exclude from our field of study, it is of particular interest to anyone working with theoretical analysis. In approaching their subject, the authors, both from the University of Bologna, devote space to a clear exposition of the object and methods of analysis (p. 15-32). The material is well presented. Although the particulars of the analysis itself

are sometimes open to question (alas, the usual situation with almost any analysis), the book provides not only specific insights into Bach materials, but also into the newer realms of musical explanation. (M.H.)

Ferris, Bill, and Judy Peiser, eds. *American Folklore Films & Videotapes: An Index*. Memphis, Tennessee: Center for Southern Folklore, 1976. 338 pp., photos, paperback.

This is an extremely useful book, which deserves a full review in our Journal; however, it is more important to bring its existence to the attention of our readers than to await full review. It consists of a Foreword, Introduction, Organization and Use section, Subject Index, Film Annotations, Videotape Annotations, Special Collections, and Appendix. The book is easy to use, and an essential tool for anyone involved in classroom or other public presentation. As with any such tool, it is dated by the time it appears, but it is hoped that it will be revised and updated periodically. (M.H.)

Leitner, Bernhard. *Sound:Space*. New York: New York Univ. Press, 1978. 106 pp., illustrations, German and English text, paperback. \$17.50.

Sound spaces are spaces created and determined in form and content by movements of sound. Leitner covers both theoretical and empirical approaches to his subject. It is of interest to ethnomusicology in that this area of investigation deals with not only what is perceived by the ears, but also how the entire body absorbs and evaluates sound and sound spaces. (M.H.)

Lowry, W. M. *The Performing Arts and American Society*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, for the American Assembly, Columbia Univ. 1978. 215 pp., \$10.95, paperback \$4.95.

Although the title of this book is promising and the book jacket promotes a "social, philosophical, and economic" exposition of "institutions and companies in the performing arts," this is a disappointing little volume. The presentations are by recognized experts in their fields, but the material provides little more to the ethnomusicologist than a cry for further investigation in this area of study. (M.H.)

Martin, Phyllis M. and Patrick O'Meara, eds. *Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1977. 414 pp., index, bibliography. \$20.00.

This book is a collection of twenty-one interdisciplinary essays on art, music, religion, history, politics, literature, economics, and other areas of African studies. Of interest to students of African music are the essays by Alan P. Merriam, "Traditional Music of Black Africa" (p. 243-258), and by John E. Kaemmer, "Changing Music in Contemporary Africa" (p. 367-377). Merriam's essay is well-developed and beautifully adapted to the requirements of this type of book. Kaemmer, who perhaps had the more difficult task, falls a little short of excellence in that he fails to mention developments beyond "highlife," particularly in Zaire. Both authors, however, represent our field of study quite well. (M.H.)

RECORD REVIEWS

Morasha: Traditional Jewish Musical Heritage. Recorded and annotated in Israel by Amnon Shiloah. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1978. Folkways FE 4203. Descriptive notes in English, French, and Hebrew, 12 pp., mus. ex.

The process of the last few decades, in which the Jewish people have returned to their ancient homeland, is an unprecedented phenomenon. One of the results is the present cultural situation in Israel, which can be characterized as one of plurality in the midst of political unity. Such a situation offers the ethnomusicologist enormous opportunities and the means to research a rich musical heritage. The desire to summarize this richness in the form of one record is, therefore, an impossible task. The present disc, however, which contains a selection of 19 songs from eight different ethnic groups, has successfully fulfilled one important purpose: the stimulation of scholars involved in the study of Jewish music to broaden and deepen their activities so that more of these musical styles from throughout the world will be exposed.

All Jewish ethnic groups in Israel share an interesting cultural feature: the differentiation between two types of musical category. These are (a) songs with written texts, mostly in Hebrew, and (b) songs in the vernacular whose texts are known only through oral tradition. Of the first type, two of the subcategories—namely tunes for biblical recitation and prayer tunes—are based on a textual repertory known identically and used by all Jewish groups, whereas the musical style of these texts changes from one group to another. Although the function of the third subcategory, "men's songs," is the same in all groups, each of them has its own textual repertory with its characteristic musical repertory.

With the second category—songs in the vernacular—we touch upon one of the most prominent points of diversity between the Jewish ethnic groups. Each has its own subject matter for songs in this category, its own language or dialect, its own musical style, and its own characteristic method of performance practice.

The selection on this disc consists only of the second type and the third subcategory of the first type. These profane and paraliturgical songs are from the repertoires of only seven out of many more Jewish ethnic groups, and from the repertory of that unique and ancient people, the Samaritans, just one of many non-Jewish ethnic groups living in Israel.

The variety of categories and musical styles can be demonstrated by the four songs that represent the Moroccan Jews. One song (Side 1, Band 1), which is for the celebration of Bar-Mitzva (the age at which a Jewish boy of 13 assumes religious obligations), is sung in Hebrew by a male singer from Casablanca to the accompaniment of the *'ud* for the first, improvisatory part, and the *'ud* plus a tambourine and *darbuka* for the second, rhythmic part. Another song (Side 1, Band 7) for a different part of this Bar-Mitzva celebration, and in a different style, is sung in Arabic by a woman from 'Ugda (without accompaniment). A third song (Side 2, Band 2) is sung by the same

male singer from Casablanca, but this time without accompaniment since it is a paraliturgical hymn sung on Sabbath morning, a day on which playing instruments is forbidden. The hymn is one of many supplications written in Hebrew performed in the synagogue between the Succoth and Pesach festivals, and whose texts and *muwwaal*-s (the Moroccan term for the *maqamat* system) are different for every Sabbath. Its musical structure, based on the Moroccan "Nubah," is very complex; the piece is considered to be "serious" music. The fourth song (Side 2, Band 4) is actually an excerpt from the feast of Maimunah, celebrated on the day that follows the Pesach festival.

Other Jewish ethnic groups represented on this record in various musical styles are those of Yugoslavia, Syria, Yemen, Tunis, Turkey, and Kurdistan. All in all, the disc presents a startling variety of music in a selection that constitutes but a tiny segment of the cultural and musical plurality in Israel.

Beduin Music of Southern Sinai. Recorded and annotated by Amnon Shiloah.

One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1978. Folkways FE 4204. Descriptive notes, 6 pp., texts, mus. ex.

The Beduin people, who inhabit the strip of desert from the Sahara in the west through the Sinai to the Arabian peninsula in the east, are a group about whom our knowledge is still very limited. That they constitute closed and isolated societies as desert dwellers has always rendered them practically inaccessible to outsiders. Every ethnographic publication, therefore, which can shed light on these people is welcome. In this respect, the new record of the Israeli scholar, Amnon Shiloah, is decidedly an important contribution in that it exposes us to an unfamiliar musical culture. We can listen to examples of a very ancient musical style like that of the *hudjaini* (caravan song), sung by a member of the Tarabin tribe (Side 1, Band 1), side by side with modern adaptations of the famous hit of two decades ago, "Cherie je t'aime," and the Syro-Lebanese song "'ala da'una," as sung and danced by a group of fishermen from Al-Tur to the accompaniment of drumming on a jerrican. We can also hear the special *yamania* genre sung to the accompaniment of the five-string *simsimiyya* (cf. Shiloah 1972) on Side 2, Bands 1 and 2, along with the unique musical style of the solo *simsimiyya* (Side 1, Band 6), the solo flute (Side 1, Band 4), and the solo *'uffata*, a type of clarinet (Side 1, Band 5). One of the climactic items on the disc is a montage consisting of several excerpts intended to illustrate the main features of a *hafla* (social evening) in an encampment of different tribes (Side 1, Band 3). The selection includes rhythmic patterns of coffee grinding, parts of a *dahhiya* dance, and a solemn recitation of a poem composed and recited by a sheikh from Wadi Firan, not far from the monastery of Santa Catherina.

All these recordings were made among the Sinai Bedouins over a short period of time, on the occasion of two expeditions (of a few days each) to the Sinai peninsula in 1968 and 1971; both were headed by Amnon Shiloah. These excursions must have been highly intensive, and it is only natural that the researcher, enchanted by the revelations of this rich Beduin culture, would try to harvest as much information as possible. The desire, so familiar to all ethnographers and ethnomusicologists, to share this enthusiasm with the general public, has resulted in a record whose content barely masks the strong personal feelings, almost "romantic" attitude, of the investigator towards the

musical repertoires uncovered by him. The implications of this approach, however, are not always in favor of the listener.

The record is divided into 15 bands, each of which contains a part, or parts, of a song or tune. Side 1 includes music recorded among the Tarabin tribe (Bands 1, 5), the Mzina tribe (Band 2), and other unnamed tribes from the areas of Wadi Firan and Dir Nasib (Bands 3 and 4), Al-Tur (Band 6), and Abu-Rodeis (Band 7). In contrast to this selection, we find on Side 2 music from only one group, the fishermen of Al-Tur. Although the variegated musical content demonstrated on the eight bands of this side justifies such a selection, one would expect a wider scope from the music of these former tribes also.

Another result of the enthusiastic attitude towards the music is the recording of the solo flute (Side 1, Band 4), which reveals a wonderful piece of music. In a personal communication, Shiloah has informed me that the flute is mainly a women's instrument (like the tambourine and *darbuka*), and that women also maintain a special musical repertory. Because, however, of the strict separation of the sexes, he was unable to make any recordings among the women; the flute is played here by a man. That the record is based solely on men's songs, and that men dictate the women's repertory, should reinforce our anticipation of much longer periods of ethnomusicological research among the Beduins. Future recordings should thereby uncover more hidden aspects of such musical cultures.

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Songs of Western Macedonia. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1974. Society for the Dissemination of National Music SDNM 109. Stereo. Jacket notes. Song texts in Greek, 8 pp.

Songs of Epirus. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1975. Society for the Dissemination of National Music SDNM 111. Stereo. Jacket notes. Song texts in Greek and English, 10 pp.

These two records are part of the series documenting the "national music" of Greece, both sacred and secular. They are a delight to listen to, being of extremely high quality with respect to both musicianship and the technical production. Unfortunately, the accompanying notes do not match this quality, and the series, although still outstanding, is consequently less valuable than it might otherwise have been. The discs to be discussed here contain music from the regions of Epirus and Western Macedonia in north-western Greece. The former is an area bounded on the west by the Ionian Sea

and on the north by Albania, while the latter lies directly to the east of Epirus and to the south of the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia.¹

The Epirus record presents a nice selection of regional styles performed by numerous different (presumably local) singers and musicians, but the composition of the instrumental groups is, with one exception out of 11 selections, always the same: clarinet, violin, *laóuto* (a type of lute) and *défi* (large tambourine). The exceptional group consists of clarinet, violin, *santouri* (hammer dulcimer) and guitar. Although the notes refer to the use, in earlier times, of flutes instead of clarinets, and *kanonáki* (zither) in such instrumental groups, no example of these, nor any of solo instruments such as the shepherd's flute (*djamara*; cf. Mazarki 1969:280-82) are included. The disc comprises a number of slow, unmetered, instrumental or vocal dirges, table songs, and a shepherd's tune, as well as a number of dances and songs in strict meter, primarily 2/4, 4/4 and 6/4. Of particular interest—because of its relative rarity outside Epirus, and especially the Zagori region—is the 5/4 meter represented by the dance song "Alexandra" (Side 2, Band 3). Also of interest are the examples (Side 1, Bands 2 and 3) of three-part singing from Pogoni and "northern Epirus" (see Note 1), which is "totally different in sound from the songs of the rest of Greece," but similar to Albanian, Vlah and Slav singing styles from neighboring regions (Rice 1977:206-08; Kaufman 1959).

The Macedonian album contains a greater variety of instrumental combinations, including solo bagpipe (*gáida*) accompanying a male singer; a solo tambourine (*dairé*) which provides a percussive accompaniment for two female singers; a pair of *zournádes* (a type of oboe) accompanied by *daouli* (large drum); brass bands featuring clarinet, cornet, trombone, and small and large drum; groups consisting of clarinet, *laóuto*, and either violin or *défi* or both. A wide diversity of meters are also represented, including 12/16, 9/16 and 7/16 as well as the more common 6/4, 7/8, 2/4, and 4/4. Of some interest is the performance of "Leventikos" (Side 2, Band 5), which, in addition to its inclusion of several traditional themes, contains an adaptation—to its 12/16 meter—of the melody which, in 7/8, accompanies the chorus of a recently composed Yugoslav-Macedonian song.²

As indicated earlier, the notes leave much to be desired. To begin with, they are too brief. Greek song texts (and English translations for the Epirus record) are printed on the small pamphlet inserts. All other information appears (in English and Greek) on the back of the record covers; this is insufficient space to permit a detailed discussion of the relevant regional tradition or of the individual selections. The names of the items, the towns or districts from which they come, the song or dance type, the composition of the musical group, and (in Greek only) the names of the individual singers and musicians are given, but no other information about the performers or the contexts of these recordings. The several paragraphs devoted to describing the musical tradition are somewhat sketchy and uneven. References to musical styles not exemplified on the disc, and lack of specific discussion of the music actually chosen, add to the difficulties in following the descriptive notes. Finally, some analyses of meter are clearly erroneous, for example Epirus, Side 2, Band 4 becomes a 7 (2+2+3), not 3+2+2; Macedonia, Sides 1, Band 5 and 2, Band 5 are both varieties of 12 (3+2+2+3+2), not 5 (2+3) or 12 (2+2+3+3+2) respectively as stated in the notes.

In conclusion, the records are technically and musically excellent, and the series is one that, both for this reason and for its extensive coverage of regional traditions, should find its way into the collection of all with an interest in the music of Greece. This very excellence and broad coverage, however, as well as the impressiveness of the producers' title and Ford Foundation backing, leads me to expect more substantial notes; this amounts to a lost opportunity for a much more substantial contribution to our understanding of Greek musical tradition.

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NOTES

1. There are, however, two selections from "northern Epirus," the Korça and Gjinokaster districts of Albania. The inclusion of related material from outside current Greek borders is certainly valid, but there is a tendency in these notes to press, by innuendo, old and disputed Greek claims to this and similar territories in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. See Wolff 1967, especially pp. 147-47 and 148-50 for more about these areas.

2. Duet Tomovska-Mančevski i ansambl Koče Petrovskog. Radio-televizije Beograd EP 12747: Side A, Band 1, Makedonsko devojče, kitka šarena (J. Hristovski).

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Dance Music: Breakdowns & Waltzes (Folk Music in America, Vol. 3). One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1976. Library of Congress LBC 3. Descriptive material including texts, photos, discography, inside slipcase, 7 pp.

Dance Music: Reels, Polkas & More (Folk Music in America, Vol. 4). One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1976. Library of Congress LBC 4. Descriptive material including texts in French, Polish, and Spanish with English translation, photos, discography, inside slipcase, 7 pp.

Readers of *Ethnomusicology* have already been introduced to the Library of Congress' Bicentennial record series *Folk Music in America* through reviews of Volumes 1, 2, and 5 in the January 1978 issue. The discs presently

under consideration are two of three in the series which, together with Volume 5, are devoted to dance music.

As is true of the series in general, editor Richard K. Spottswood has maintained a broad view of American folk music in selecting examples of dance music. Volume 3 contains performances by Anglo-American string bands from the southeast and Texas; a variety of Afro-American styles; a waltz by a Texas Czech (Bohemian) band; two tunes played by a trio of Swedish fiddlers from Minnesota; some Papago Indian *waila* music; a Louisiana Cajun harmonica/vocal solo; and a performance by an unusual pre-jazz brass band from Louisiana. One side of Volume 4 is devoted to the polka, featuring examples by Polish, Ukrainian, Czech (Moravian), Mexican, and Papago Indian ensembles, and by the Louisiana brass band heard on Volume 3. The second side of the disc consists primarily of Irish- and Anglo-American groups performing reels and jigs, with examples of Cajun and Polish music also included.

Compilers of survey albums such as these are faced by two problems. First, in dealing with an area as geographically vast and culturally diverse as the United States, it is hardly possible for them to present examples of all extant styles of traditional dance music on two, three, or even half-a-dozen lps. At the same time, they are obliged to represent each chosen style on the basis of only one or two examples. Taking these factors into consideration, and recognizing that no two editors would make the same selections, I find that I have little quarrel with Spottswood's choice of material. The music is uniformly interesting and well-played, and certainly impresses the listener with the variety of dance music that exists in the United States.

The items are drawn from a number of sources, including Library of Congress field recordings, early commercial recordings, and new recordings made expressly for the *Folk Music in America* series. Each disc is accompanied by a seven-page booklet with text transcriptions and translations, and brief but informative notes about the music and the performers. Spottswood has written the bulk of the material in these booklets, but James Griffith contributes notes relating to the Mike Enis *waila* group (heard on both volumes) and John H. Cowley provides information about some of the Afro-American recordings on Volume 3. A number of photographs are also included in the booklets.

The only criticism I would make concerns minor points. The jacket and booklet for Volume 4 have the information for Side 2, Bands 5 and 6 transposed; the label copy is correct in identifying "Medley of Irish Reels" by P. Killoran and P. Sweeny as Band 5, and "The Cavan Lasses" by Packie Dolan and his Melody Boys as Band 6. In respect to the latter item, Spottswood claims that the performance is "basically in three parts, though with variations toward the end," when in fact it is two separate tunes: "The Cavan Lasses" coupled with a second jig known under a variety of titles, "Paddy in London" being perhaps the most common. In "Medley of Reels" played by L. P. Baxter with Henry Ford's Old Fashioned Dance Orchestra which appears on Side 2, Band 8 of Volume 4, the final reel, which Spottswood was unable to identify, is known as both "Farewell to Whiskey" and "Ladies' Triumph."

These two discs provide an excellent survey of the vernacular dance music of the United States. They will perhaps be most valuable for classroom purposes, but are also recommended on a general basis.

The John Edwards Memorial Foundation, U.C.L.A.

Paul F. Wells

Music from Saramaka: A Dynamic Afro-American tradition. Recorded and annotated by Richard and Sally Price. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1977. Folkways FE 4225. Descriptive material, including map, selective bibliography, song texts in Saramaccan with English translations, 8 pp., photos.

The sound documentation of the music of Surinam is notoriously scarce. Songs of the so-called "Bush Negroes" and "Town Negroes" were recorded in the field in 1929 by Melville and Frances Herskovits and made available shortly thereafter. Many of these were analyzed by M. Kolinski (Herskovits and Herskovits 1936), whose study remains the only published work on the music of Surinam. The Herskovits' recordings were made on wax cylinders and thus leave a great deal to be desired technically. From this collection, the great majority of the Bush Negro songs was collected among the Saramaka people living in the interior along the Surinam, Pikillo, and Gaanlio rivers. The present recordings, collected by the anthropologists Richard and Sally Price in 1967-68 and 1976, deal specifically with Saramaka music and thus make a valuable contribution since they do not duplicate anything currently available.

Richard and Sally Price have done extensive work among the "maroon" (runaway slave) communities of Guiana and Surinam, treating especially social structure and change, the languages, and the arts of these maroon societies (cf. Price 1973, 1975, 1976; Price and Price 1976, 1978). Their total collection of Saramaka oral literature and music includes 117 five-inch reels (deposited at Indiana University's Archives of Traditional Music), out of which the present disc is a good if modest sample. In choosing the selections, the compilers have tried "not only to include pieces which will appeal to non-Saramaka ears, but also to reflect the evaluative judgments of Saramakas." The first criterion of selection implies a value judgment generally rejected as irrelevant by ethnomusicologists. In all likelihood, however, pieces that would not appeal to non-Saramaka ears would not be basically different in style from those actually selected. The second criterion, while commendable in that it tends to reinforce the emic viewpoint, is not made very explicit in the selections themselves. Nevertheless, the pieces presented here are excellent examples of the relationship of music and language, music and mythology, music and history, music and dance, and musical instruments, performance contexts, and belief systems among the Saramakas.

Particularly engaging to Africanists and Afro-Americanists are the tree-felling songs (*matjau baai*, Side 1, Band 1), whose texts are in *apuku tongò* (the language of "forest spirits") rather than in common Saramaccan. The latter is a tonal language i.e., "one of the few Creoles of the world in which tone is clearly phonemic" (Price and Price 1976:38). *Apuku tongò* may very well have the same property. If so, the melodic shapes of the songs could follow the general sequence of language tones. These songs illustrate the frequent change from speech to song (or vice-versa), with varying pace of text delivery. It is probably the most African-like example of integration of music and language to be found in the New World today.

Bands 2 and 3 of Side 1 present two other song types, the *adunké* and an epic song genre. The *adunké* is described as the major secular song style dealing with love affairs, local gossip and events, particularly popular until the early 20th century. This style is "now restricted to special ritual occasions, on

which it is used to bring pleasure to those ancestors being invoked, for whom this was the everyday form of musical performance" (p. 2). From the recorded examples (Band 2 and the last song on Band 3) it appears that *adunké* is not a homogeneous musical style; rather, what seems to define the style is the overall textual content.

Four examples of *bèntá* music (Side 1, Bands 4 to 7) further reveal the degree of Africanism retained by the Saramakas. In his study of Surinam music Kolinski does not mention *bèntá* at all (Herskovits and Herskovits 1936:520-23). According to the Prices *bèntá* refers to two Saramaka instruments, "the recently-obsolete *gólu bèntá* (gourd *bèntá* or *agbadó*), consisting of 'three musical bows' inserted through a gourd, and the *papá bèntá* (split-reed *benta* or 'hand piano') made from 4-5 split reeds fastened tightly over two wooden bridges to a flat board" (p. 3). Not only is the present existence of the African *mbira* in South America remarkably well-documented but the virtuoso performance shows the technique of imitation of bird or animal calls, and of drum rhythms, which are translatable into verbal sounds. The compilers provide an example of a verbal transformation of a particular *bèntá* rhythm.

Eight *sěkěti* songs (Side 2, Bands 1 to 8) disclose still another aspect of Saramaka music. They are categorized as "Saramaka popular music *par excellence*," constituting a major form of social commentary. Textual contents comprise references to lovers' or spouses' relationships (especially co-wife relations, adultery, divorce), to local calamities (such as the flooding of several Saramaka villages by a hydroelectric project), but also to the qualities of "a new outboard motor or a particularly handsome cooking pot." *Sěkěti* songs are used in various contexts, large public celebrations (such as funeral rites), and informal settings for entertainment. The eight examples provided show the typical Afro-American responsorial pattern (all accompanied by regular hand clappings), but those songs performed by female leaders are answered by a female chorus; when a male voice leads a male chorus answers. The same observation can be made for two of the songs performed by a ten-year-old boy and a boys' chorus. It is not clear whether this separation of the sexes is a trait of Saramaka performance practice.

Saramaka drumming is well illustrated here. Four selections (Side 2, Bands 9 to 12) present various drumming styles and contexts. Because the African talking drum technique has practically disappeared among Afro-American societies, the example of the *apínti* (Side 2, Band 12), the Saramaka "talking drum," is the more remarkable. The Prices explain that "when played as a solo talking drum at council meetings (*kuútu*), its rhythms officially open the proceedings, summon and greet particular gods, ancestors and public officials, comment on current events, help set the tone for the meeting through the imaginative use of proverbs, dismiss people at the end, and so forth" (p. 7). To illustrate how a drum phrase can be transposed into a rhythmically similar verbal form in a number of ritual languages or in a special *apínti* language (much as many forms of West African drumming techniques), a provisional verbal transcription of the entire *apínti* selection, elicited from the performer after his performance, is given in Saramaccan and English translations.

This album is an excellent addition to the sources of Afro-American music in South America. It will prove particularly useful for those studying the African roots of Afro-American musics.

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Gerard Béhague

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African Flutes. Recorded in The Gambia by Samuel Charters. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1978. Folkways FE 4230. Descriptive notes, 2 pp., photos.

Certainly, if there are flute traditions in Africa that deserve to be known in a wider context, it is those of the Fula and Serrehule represented on this album. Earlier recordings have documented the hocketing flutes of Central Africa and the ensembles of Chad, and occasionally one finds an isolated example of the various transverse flutes of West Africa, but this is the first record featuring them prominently.

One side is devoted to the Fula, the other to the Serrehule, with five selections from each group, some made in a controlled recording session, others in their more usual festive context. The brief notes accompanying the record include good descriptions of the instruments and manage to convey some of the flavor of the performance, but the documentation is sorely lacking in other respects. Nothing is said about the social position or role of the musicians (although the Serrehules were performing for a chief when recorded), nor is there anything about the content of the songs—only the titles are given. The picture on the album cover shows two Fula flutists, but the other instruments depicted (half calabashes struck with ringed fingers) are not the sistrum rattles heard in the recordings and described in the notes. The names of the first three drums used in the Serrehule examples are given, but the names of the flutes and the rattles (called *lala*) are not. Finally, the dates and places of the recordings are included, but not the performers' names! Surely the group leaders' names, at least, could have been noted. In my view

there is no excuse for this omission, especially when the musicians are professionals and decidedly worthy of recognition, the more so since a well-known American musician—who is not even on the disc—is mentioned at length in the notes.

As for the music itself, the recordings are all well made, and the selections are of sufficient length (3 to 4½ minutes) to be properly appreciated. For the most part they are complete performances without fadeouts at the end. A variety of musical techniques is illustrated, especially in the Fula examples. In the first selection, "Bengsimbe," a soloist demonstrates the beautiful sound of singing falsetto in unison with his instrument. Two other examples feature a flute duet with one player singing into his instrument, the other not. The microtonal divergences from unison between the flutes, and between flute and voice, give the music a wavering, breathing quality. The remaining two examples include the rattle *lala*, two flutes, and singing independent of the flutes. These two examples—and especially the last ("Sereba," Side 1, Band 5)—capture the excitement and sound of actual performances, with a complex polyphonic texture of high, excited singing and deep vocal droning added to the flutes and rattles.

The Serrehule examples all feature a single flute, three drums, and a female soloist and chorus. They were recorded at an actual performance, and the usual crowd noises, hesitant starts and trail-off endings are all clearly in evidence. In some of the tracks handclapping is also included, while in one ("Sandali," Side 2, Band 3) a rattle or hissing sound is also added. The flute part is much simpler than in the Fula style, often consisting of an extremely short ostinato that very quickly wears thin, but the accompanying parts make up for this with rhythms ranging from relaxed and asymmetrical to fast and driving.

The recordist has managed to balance the diverse elements of both the Fula and Serrehule examples well. This, coupled with the general vitality of the performances makes for a worthwhile album despite the too-brief documentation.

Sounds of West Africa: The Kora and the Xylophone. Recorded by Richard Hill. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. [1977]. Lyricord LLST 7308. Jacket notes.

The title alone is telling: one undoubtedly expects a potpourri. The sampling is not too broad—only the Mandinka, Lobi, and Dagarti—but their inclusion on one record is clearly the result of some coincidence (as it happens, the Mandinka *kora* player from Gambia was in Ghana when the recordist visited there and made recordings of him and some xylophonists).

There are three selections of the Dagarti xylophone, six of the Lobi xylophone, and seven of the Mandinka *kora*, and while it is always good to see new recordings of various musical traditions made available for use in the classroom or just for general listening, the presentation of these recordings is so haphazard that they are only barely useful for classroom purposes. The brief, though acceptable, discussion of the professional musician or *griot* among the Mandinka is matched by virtually nothing on the Lobi and Dagarti musicians, and there is only a sentence or two about some typical occasions for the music. The textual content of each song is related very briefly, and

the instruments and their tunings are described, but here many inaccuracies enter in. It is stated that the *kora* can be tuned to absolute pitch, while in xylophone tunings relative pitch is more important. This is misleading, for although it is true that the *kora* may be tuned to an exact pitch (the sample tuning given on F being a good example), the absolute pitch in fact differs from instrument to instrument. Since xylophones, on the other hand, are not readily retuned but often play together, they are usually tuned to an absolute pitch to facilitate this.

The sound of the *kora* is described as having a North African flavor in its tonality, timbre, and harmonies—tonality perhaps, timbre less likely, but *harmonies*? The harmonies are anything but North African, if indeed such a thing exists. On the xylophone, the resonator membrane is described as being made of spider webbing and glue. It is actually made of the egg-case cover of the ground spider. Regarding distribution, the West African type of xylophone is not found in Uganda or Tanzania, while those of Mozambique and Zaire are different from the Ghanaian instrument in significant details.

Both instruments are pictured on the album cover, but with the players' heads cropped off. The *kora* is shown with its metal jingle in place on the bridge, but it is not heard in the recordings. The subtitle under the pictures declares "Music of the Lobi and Dagasti (sic) Tribes of Northern Ghana and the Griots of Gambia and Senegal," but the recording actually includes performances by only one *griot* from Gambia, and nothing from Senegal. Fortunately the musician is identified (Foday Musa Suso) and pictured on the back, but not a word is said about *any* of the xylophonists. Are not the days of the sorely exploited, anonymous performer long gone? There are spelling and sequence discrepancies between the record label and the jacket, the latter listing Side 1, Bands 4, 5, and 6 as on Side 2, and vice versa.

The recordings are generally of good quality, except that most of the selections (both *kora* and xylophone) sound as if they were made in rather confined quarters with the microphone too close to the instrument. This is especially true of the *kora* piece "Chedo" (Side 1, Band 3), where forefinger-knocking on the handgrip of the instrument sounds like rapping on a packing crate in a tiled room. In the Ghanaian pieces, the xylophone is clearly in the foreground, and the buzzing of the resonator membranes is easily audible, but voices and other instruments (iron bells, clappers, drums—none of which are mentioned in the notes) are too far in the background.

Since there are not many recordings of Ghanaian xylophone music available, the examples presented here are welcome in spite of the scanty documentation. They include festival and recreational music of both groups, and funeral music of the Lobi. The example of "high life" on the Lobi instrument (Side 1, Band 5) is particularly apt as a demonstration of the various techniques and sounds of the instrument; it includes a section played slowly to show the basic melodic pattern.

Foday Musa Suso, the *kora* player, is an accomplished young musician whose performances are marred only by an occasional lapse into a forced, strident voice quality that is too exaggerated even for Mandinka tastes. Of the pieces he plays, only one ("Chedo") is from the "deep" Mandinka repertoire. The rest are of recent origin and more popular in nature, but their inclusion is valuable nonetheless as a record of current trends among the younger musicians (the titles of the other six *kora* pieces are "Jimbasin," "Nabaya,"

"Ansu 'Machine' Menneh," "Musa Koli," "Laminba," and "Dembo"). In short, although the record is disappointing in many ways, it does include several items not available elsewhere.

Oberlin College

Roderic Knight

Wandjuk Marika in Port Moresby: Didjeridu Solo. One 7" 45 rpm disc. 1977. Larrikin Records LRE-014. Recorded by Frederick Duvelle. Jacket notes by Jennifer Isaacs. (Available from: Larrikin Records, P.O. Box 162, Paddington, N.S.W., 2021, Australia.)

Bamyili Corroboree; Songs of Djoli Laiwanga: Didjeridu, Sticks and Singers. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1976. Grevillea Records. Recording and jacket notes by Douglas Myers. (Produced from the resources of The Ethnomusicology Centre, R.M.C., Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education, P. O. Darling Heights, Toowoomba, Queensland, 4350, Australia.)

Both these recordings arise from the wide interest in traditional and contemporary Aboriginal Arts stimulated by the Aboriginal Arts Board of the Australia Council. This board, now all-Aboriginal, promotes tours of Aboriginal performers inside Australia and overseas, grapples with complex problems of copyright if material originates from a community and is performed outside that community's traditional confines, as well as encouraging young Aboriginal artists and performers who choose to become involved in westernized idioms. This interest has given rise to many initiatives by Aboriginal people, of which these are examples.

The Bamyili recording is a little disappointing, perhaps because of the repetitious nature of the items together with the length of the recording, or maybe the sometimes tourist-oriented attitude of the performers. When seen live, this Bamyili performance is of absorbing interest, full of skill, dedication, and humour. This vanishes in the recording. The 13 items, varying from brief *didjeridu* displays by David Blanas, which mimic bird calls, to more extensive items using *didjeridu*, sticks, and singers provide adequate material for anyone who wishes to acquaint himself with the technical details of a particular musical style from one group of performers. However, divorced from the mime that normally accompanies these items, there is little overt meaning left, the light and humorous being indistinguishable from more serious items. This is a problem with all Aboriginal recordings and requires sensitive editing and background information if the difficulty is to be in any way ameliorated.

In comparison with the interesting technical musical details and explanations about the songs that I have heard given by David Blanas and the other performers on this record, the information on the jacket is of poor quality. We hear nothing of the musicians' views about their music, its performing techniques or its significance (other than a few brief words on the meaning of each song), or of the aims of these knowledgeable performers in presenting their music to the world at large.

The other recording is in marked contrast to this. It is small in scale,

compact, shows a wealth of diversity, and provides thoroughly enjoyable listening. Wandjuk Marika, Chairman of the Aboriginal Arts Board, and a ceremonial leader deeply concerned with the training of the young people of his own area in the traditional art forms and life patterns of his own people, is quoted on the jacket as stating that "we realize the old way will never return, but we believe that much of our music, songs, dance and art can and must be preserved as a vital part of the culture of mankind." The recording he has made reflects not only his virtuoso *didjeridu* playing, but also this deep sensitivity to the needs and values of the arts of his people. This sensitivity is admirably reflected in the jacket notes by Jennifer Isaacs, which are clear, informative and make each item comprehensible.

Each side of this short recording is divided into separate items not indicated by any pause, even for breath, in the playing, which extends for a continuous three minutes on one side and four-and-a-half minutes on the other. Playing techniques include the overblown higher note and many intricate rhythmic patterns and tonal changes. After listening several times one is able to identify the items listed on the jacket according to the various changes of musical structure, rather than simply hearing an unbroken stretch of brilliant playing. This exciting record, made while Mr. Marika was guest lecturer at the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, is wholly satisfying.

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SOCIETY FOR ETHNOMUSICOLOGY, INC.

TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

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CANADA

FILM REVIEWS

The Popovich Brothers of South Chicago. A film by Jill Godmilow in collaboration with Ethel Raim and Martin Koenig of the Balkan Arts Center. 16 mm. Color. 60 minutes. Rental \$80-150, sale \$750. Available from Balkan Arts Center, P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, New Jersey 07417. (201)891-8240.

It is a rare documentary that captures a musical tradition and its community at a pivotal moment of crisis. Given such a moment as she was filming *The Popovich Brothers of South Chicago*, Jill Godmilow has captured the humanity, dignity, and feelings of the members of a Serbian-American *tamburitza* (string band) orchestra as they confront their opposed values for tradition and acculturation upon the death of their lead instrumentalist. The film's power lies in its success in presenting this ambivalence in the words and acts of members of the South Chicago Serbian community. It communicates the desires, ideas, and feelings of its subjects so clearly that the viewer not only learns from them but connects with them deeply.

In recording the fifty year history of the Popovich Brothers *Tamburitza* Orchestra, it presents *tamburitza* music as the central factor in the South Chicago Serbian community's maintenance of strong social solidarity and cohesion. Moreover, it shows the tensions blue-collar Serbian-Americans feel between their values for maintaining their musical tradition and their community and their concomitant desire for acculturation, dispersal, and upward mobility.

My pleasure in reviewing the film here stems from a number of considerations: my desire that more ethnomusicologists encounter this vibrant tradition; the lack of ethnomusicological data regarding it; its status as a study of the feelings with which these people relate to their music; and my personal interest in this particular community which stems from research I began there in 1964.

The unusual element in this dilemma of acculturation and tradition is the music itself, the *tamburitza* tradition of Serbia which, through the efforts of the Popoviches and other talented musicians in Chicago and other major urban areas, has survived and blossomed here for eighty years and continues in popularity as each young generation, taught in large *tamburitza* orchestras, church choirs, and informal situations, learns the tradition. The cohesive power of *tamburitza* music becomes obvious as the film chronicles its central position at a banquet, a tennis tournament, a Saint's Day celebration, a tavern performance, a choir rehearsal and concert, and an orchestra rehearsal; the meaning and value Serbian-Americans place upon this music is articulated in comments made by various members of the community. Thus the film balances behavior and conceptualization in the elucidation of this theme.

However, music is not simply a cohesive nexus for the community; it is a shared ecstatic experience, the epitome of emotional expression. Adam Popovich could be upholding Suzanne Langer's notions about emotion and

music (1971:195-229) when he says, "For me, *tambura* is the expression of the song from the heart."

The film might have become a documentary dealing in a traditional way with performance contexts, musical conceptualization, and musical ethno-history—it touches on these matters—if, during its research and filming, the orchestra's lead instrumentalist, Marko Popovich, had not died. With permission, Godmilow turned her cameras on the ensuing events and, in chronicling the impact of his death upon both the orchestra and the community, laid bare the predicament of the questionable continuation of the orchestra.

The film records how, at first, its remaining members, Adam and Teddy Popovich and Pete Mistovich, feel it impossible to continue performing in the face of this loss. Then it follows their gradual transformation of both human and musical bereavement and culminates with the addition of a young member to the group when, after a long hiatus, it resumes performance at a New Year's Eve tavern celebration.

In recording the events surrounding Marko's death as well as interviewing members of the community about their values for tradition and acculturation, Godmilow succeeds in utilizing these specific facts as symbols for a more general pattern. As she traces the Popovich Brothers' gradual transformation of bereavement into a creative act, the resumption of musical performance, she symbolically indicates the Serbian-American solution to the dilemma of acculturation: the *tamburitza* tradition is so important to them that they are willing to go to great lengths to preserve both it and the community structure which supports it. An eloquent statement of a common American ethnic value—that life in America, rather than necessitating absorption into the mainstream, can be lived in terms of two cultures—the film thus cogently exemplifies the ideology of the unmeltable ethnic (Novak 1971).

Of course, the film has its share of problems. To begin with, because the anthropological significance of the music is its primary focus, the film gives short shrift to the sound itself; always filmed in performance context, the music is sometimes obscured by audience noise or cut off by editing. Moreover, one section of the film evidences poor sound synchronization, while one visual transition is clumsy. Furthermore, since the five *tamburitza* instruments are not described and differentiated, it is clear only to the initiated that the incorporation of the young musician into the orchestra necessitates that Adam must learn a new instrument, the *brač*. Although some of these data-related problems are partially resolved by the background notes provided with the film, the notes do not provide enough information and should be considerably extended for academic use.

Finally, no translations of song texts have been provided, nor has essential data on Serbian-American culture relating, for example, to Eastern Orthodox Saint's Days, godparenthood, or mourning traditions been included. The lack of such data results in the viewer's attaining a far more superficial understanding of the culture than would be optimal. To some extent, then, the film sacrifices more traditional forms of cultural data in favor of elucidating data on the relation of emotion and music. In that this parallels a new focus in anthropology, it works only in part as a detriment to the film.

The straightforward emotional communication which characterizes the film leads me to consider what a good ethnographic film should communicate to its academic viewers. I feel that it should selectively communicate the most

important data. The point here is that the data in this ethnographic context consist not just of concepts, sounds, or behavior but of emotion as well. In that this film embodies this and is also capable of moving viewers, it succeeds in communicating the thick texture of one American musical subculture.

In summary, I recommend this film highly for a number of reasons. It uncovers the relation of Serbian-American values and behavior to music and to notions of family, community, and acculturation. In focusing on Marko's death and the events following it, it illustrates that these cultural themes are ongoing processes which people continually negotiate and define and which can be shaped as well by cathartic occurrences. In this sense, the film is a piece of processual anthropology.

The film not only communicates the emotions of its subjects but evokes these feelings or responses to them in the open viewer; like any good piece of art, it leaves him or her feeling fuller, enriched. The viewer becomes involved with a deeply affecting presence, a piece of art which conveys both Serbian concepts regarding the value of music and the dilemmas of bereavement and acculturation with dignity and beauty.

The value of this film for ethnomusicologists and their students lies in all these things, but its open expressions of love, grief, pleasure, and dignity impress me most of all. After all is said and done, not only the more traditionally accepted forms of data but these feelings as well are important to convey to students, not only because they are often the stuff of music but also because they are the stuff of life.

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Nahoma Sachs

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Dance and Human History. A film by Alan Lomax. 16 mm. 40 minutes. Color. 1974. Rental: \$28.00 Sale: \$415.00 Available from: Extension Media Center, University of California, Berkeley, California 94720.

I. INTRODUCTION

This film is so attractive and its apparent message so beguiling it could set back dance scholarship many years. *Dance and Human History* demonstrates certain aspects of the Choreometrics project, an outgrowth of the Cantometrics project developed by Lomax and others at Columbia University (1968). I hope those who plan to use this film will refer to this review as a corrective guide.

Choreometrics provides an etiology of dance styles, by applying simplistic determinism, using statistics with no obvious controls, and suggesting

perplexing distribution patterns. Lomax presents his thesis in the film with ambiguous and ill-defined vocabulary.

Film clips were culled from over 700 dance films (Lomax 1977) that were photographed by numerous persons, at various times, for a variety of reasons. Because he chose from many films that are seldom available for viewing, the filmed dances and associated music provide a visual and aural feast. The film proper has not been color corrected and is not always in sync, but these flaws are not especially disturbing, at least to this reviewer.

Problems of Choreometrics become accentuated in the verbally articulated message of the film script. Nevertheless, the script is necessary, because when the film is viewed without the sound track, the rationale is lost in the potpourri of film clips. Understandably, this review addresses itself principally to the film script as augmented by Lomax's "Commentary" (1977).

Two useful ideas are amply illuminated by the film. The first is that dance movement styles are culturally influenced, and the second is that distinctive movement styles can be systematically analyzed. Analyses are based on the complexity of gestures, and by the involvement of the torso. The gestures are categorized on a scale that specifies one-, two-, or three-"dimensionality," to indicate that they are straight, curved, or spiraling; and the use of the trunk is classified as being either single- or multi-unit.

An underlying principle of the film is that movement morphs show regular patterns of distribution in combination with other societal aspects. If the Choreometrics project had been used for the purpose of suggesting an empirical method of distinguishing dance culture areas, the contribution would be valuable. The ideas presented are surely seminal.

Unfortunately, however, Lomax uses the analyses to try to prove that work and economy cause movement styles. His bias toward proving a point undermines the study. The research design is inadequate. An appropriate research design would investigate several components that shape movement styles. Instead, Lomax fits the data to prove his deductive and limiting thesis. The entire Choreometrics project has worked with numerous parameters other than these, but the film script does not indicate this. In any case, work and economy are given the major emphases, even in the written code book (Lomax 1968).

Lomax writes that dance "elements are assembled in patterns that playfully distort the humdrum procedures of everyday, combining them in some exciting way" (1977). But Lomax does not demonstrate this in his film. He is not concerned with content. He is not concerned with structure, or with symbols. He certainly is not concerned with creativity or innovation. In personal correspondence concerning the film, Lomax writes that he and the Choreometrics team "focussed on qualities." Such an emphasis is justifiable, of course, but the script promises something different. There is such a dearth of cross-cultural dance scholarship, almost any aspect can be studied profitably, but the report of a study should state clearly and accurately what the study is all about.

Lomax's script claims "for every spoken language there is an accompanying language of movement," and he implies that he will "decode these varied patterns of body language" (1974). He does not decode them. Indeed, he never intended to decode them. We learn from the "Commentary" that the research "was concerned with *how* rather than *what* people performed"

(1977). Again, such an investigation is justifiable, but the study does not deliver the promises of the script.

The text posits that spoken language and dance co-vary regularly, but after initially introducing the topic of spoken language it is never addressed again. Co-variance is not justified by the data, in any case. Lomax really means to show that there is a body language for every basic economy, rather than for every spoken language.

II. WORK-TO-DANCE

Lomax's project suggests that work is a uni-directional causative agent for dance style. Apparently he feels it is uni-causal also, on two implied principles. The first is the *selective-principle* of specific work-to-dance that disregards all but one major work feature of a society, and that disregards role divisions within a society. The second is the *exclusive-principle* of work-to-dance that disregards variables other than work.

Lomax does not indicate whether there are significant patterns for varying dance genre within a culture, or, in less "simple" societies whether the performer is a professional who may stylistically contrast with untrained dancers. The *selective-principle* discounts roles associated with status, and shifting roles and activities of a given individual, as well as diversity of activities for the society as a whole.

The Hopi Indians of northern Arizona exemplify some of the problems. Hopi dance gestures are one-dimensional, and the characteristic torso use is one-unit. Applying the lesson we learn from Lomax, these Hopi patterns are predictable because Hopi men farm with digging sticks, and Hopi women grind corn. Both corn farming and corn grinding are activities that are likewise one-dimensional and single-unit, and up to this point, the Lomax correlations are valid. However, Hopi men weave and knit, and Hopi women coil pottery or weave baskets. Such activities require three-dimensional gestures. These ancient characteristic Hopi body uses would not be considered by Lomax. Neither would Lomax account for modern work patterns: many Hopi men spend more time sitting behind a desk than they do using a digging stick; Hopi women rarely use the grinding stones. Contemporary Hopis have added many new work patterns, but their dance style is unchanged.

To present the economy and its related work behavior as the *exclusive-principle* as Lomax does, is unacceptable, especially since changes in economic and work patterns are not paralleled by changes in movement-styles. One must infer from the Lomax material that style is locked into a society according to a single, unremitting determinism of an "ethnographic present." He would likely deny this by pointing to his statistic that "In simple economies . . . 70% of the dances are highly one-dimensional." What happened to the other 30%? Anything less than 100% indicates that multiple unidentified variables exist. One variable might be congenial body types, but Lomax does not consider the influence of body-types on dance styles, even in the code book of 1968. Until other variables are identified and investigated the significance of any one variable is not clear.

Lomax does subsume four sub-variables under the heading of economy and work habits: tools, work administration, sexual division of labor, and climate.

III. FOUR SUB-VARIABLES

Tools

Lomax (1974) argues that

The explanation [for body style in dance] may lie in the kinds of tools a culture has. The members of simple economies, using only stone or wooden tools, must literally wear their way through hard reality . . . by scraping . . . by rubbing . . . by pounding . . . by poking . . . by jabbing . . .

This description of stone or wooden tools seems dynamic, but that is not Lomax's intent. According to his script, tools made of stone, bone, or wood are so "fragile" that their use "compels their users to linear action." He claims that metal tools can be used with greater articulation and that the use of metal tools distinguishes an evolutionary stage in body movement:

One of our early and major finds was that the dance movement of peoples who had had no metal tools prior to European contact was quite different from that of people who had long known the use of metal. The so-called Stone-Age people—the aborigines of Melanesia, Australia, and North and South America—work with relatively fragile stone, bone, or wooden tools, chipping hard substances with little straight strokes, moving their points and blades up and down along a straight line so as not to blunt their fragile tools. Both in work and dance, a push-pull movement in one place is dominant, and the whole limb is moved as one piece . . . Where metal tools have long been common, there is more flexing of the limb joints, and the trajectory of movement is likely to be curved and changed, as the worker shifts angle to bring out a chip. Not only can the angle be changed, thus utilizing another place, but more force can be safely employed without damage to the tool (1977).

The film narration asserts that "a harder metal blade encourages a curving, changeful, slashing approach." Lomax does not address the common non-curving movement of straight slicing, or the fact that a person with good culinary cutlery is not likely to do much slashing with it.

Non-metal tools are not necessarily "relatively fragile." Although Pueblo women do use a push-pull movement for grinding corn there is nothing fragile about the *mano* or grinding stone. The tool is used in a back-and-forth movement with a good deal of force. In contrast, gestures in women's dances are up-and-down movements and are usually limp. Perhaps direction and energy are more significant than dimensionality. Perhaps corn grinding does not significantly influence dance style. Again, wooden tools to pound taro roots in Polynesia are not especially fragile. The body style for pounding taro is essentially one-dimensional, to be sure. In spite of this, finely articulated hand gestures characterize much Polynesian dance.

Work Administration

Lomax entertains this topic fleetingly. He claims that two-dimensionality is associated with societies that use metal tools, whereas one-dimensionality is more frequent among "simple producers," and three-dimensionality is found in the dances from "irrigation empires that topped the productive scale prior to industrialism, where a complex of technology and stratification controlled the life-flow of water to the fields." He concludes that "thus, there seems to be a

close link between dance style and man's history, as the dominant trace form varies with the level of productivity" (1974). This is confusing. Metal tools and stratified social organization belong to separate orders, and may or may not be exclusive of one another. Lomax does not address input from other forms of social organization.

Sexual Division of Labor

According to Lomax's filmscript (1974):

West Africans are said to encourage . . . hip-rocking dances to prepare young people for the responsibilities of marriage. It tends to be more common in female than in male dancers, and this may explain their special prominence in Africa and other tropical regions, since there women often outdo men as food producers, and thus their movements hold the center of the stage.

In Polynesia multi-unit dance style is associated with women, but women are not often the major food producers. In Samoa, for example, dance is the primary way by which a woman expresses her individuality (Louise Gardner, personal communication). She takes the center of the stage because she is a good dancer or a privileged person, but not because she is a food producer.

A film clip shows Hungarian women swinging their hips in a wedding dance, and the script suggests that this is because women share the farmwork in Central Europe. Lomax announces that "in the whole world of early agriculture, from the Danubian plain to India, fertility was a core value and sensuous dances were encouraged" (1974). It seems implausible to explain hip-swinging by farming activities, because Lomax (*ibid.*) notes that American descendents of "European colonists imported the single-unit tradition to North America, where square dancers hold the middle body upright and steady." Did not European women ancestors of Americans share the farmwork? If they did, why didn't they swing their hips? Irish women who work regularly in food production keep their torsos very quiet in dance.

Cultural values and sexual roles surely influence the contrasting dance styles of men and women, but Lomax seems to view them with tunnel vision.

Climate

Another suggestion in Lomax's script is that "The island track of the Malayo-Polynesians into the Pacific lies in a tropic zone, where women and children can share in the work of men". They *can* share, but in many cases they do not. One cannot assume that women work out-of-doors in comfortable weather only. The divers in the cold seas of Cheju Island, Korea, are women, and their men stay comfortably indoors. There are numerous similar cases in many parts of the world.

Lomax reasons from the arm chair that "In warm latitudes, the woman is not housebound by the weather if she has a child. She can take it with her to her work [out-of-doors]" (1974). Why does Lomax presume that the woman stays with her child? In many parts of the world, grandparents stay with a child. In traditional Marquesas a woman left her child at home in the care of her husbands.

IV. MAJOR PROBLEMS

"Dance and Human History" is the title of the film, and the filmscript promises that movement styles "teach us about the history of culture." Lomax does not teach us about the history of culture. His evolutionary model has several slots into which each culture seems to be plugged by fiat. Although Lomax writes in his "Commentary" (1977):

There are certain respects in which dance style appears to evolve with culture. As productive and administrative systems become more elaborate, so do the control systems that govern the manipulative and the choreographic aspects of dance.

In fact, Lomax does not focus on such dynamics. What is noteworthy, empirically, is that societies sometimes add dance styles to a repertory, but essentially, dance styles tend to be conservative. If work is the predominant shaper of dance styles, then changes in work should cause changes in dance styles. Since this does not necessarily happen, there is a clear gap between the Lomax statement above and the film message.

If a dance culture is supposedly tied to work patterns but movement styles stay the same despite changes of work patterns, then one must uncover the true causes for the prevailing distinctive features of a given dance culture.

The Lomax study raises more questions than it answers. I find it disturbing to be told that the ancestors of native American peoples were Siberian migrants who brought a particular style of movements and "this style filled both North and South America with people" (1974). Besides the extraordinary idea that a style filled these areas with people, is the wonder of the idea that this is a "primordial style." Lomax calls this, also, the "single-unit hunter style" to be found in North Eurasia and round the primitive Pacific and in all of the Americas. Are the primarily agrarian Pueblos legitimately said to exhibit "single-unit hunter style"? What *does* "90% of all North American and 90% of all South American Indians" mean? That 90% of them live on the Pacific Coast? Are the Maya to be lumped with the Shoshoni?

Lomax's insistence that the two Choreometric measures of gesture dimensionalities and torso involvement are "easily observed aspects of behavior [that] bring order to the kaleidoscope of dance and culture" is not justified. To the viewer who follows the clips, graphics, and script closely, the measures are not easily observable, and order does not come from disorder.

Curiously, Lomax pronounces that "each region of dance has a distinctive movement pattern that feeds back to a major cultural tradition." There cannot be backward feed back through time. In a switch, Lomax assures the film viewer that each movement pattern "represents in a different way the vital role of dance and movement style in the stabilization and the growth of human culture." Until this assertion, Lomax has presented dance styles as mechanical results, and not as continual adaptations and as influences. Lomax's uni-directional emphasis has not suggested that dance movements are instrumental to cultural development.

In a final burst of rhetoric, movement patterns are described as being symbols, although the use of the word "symbol" is not specified. Further, the rhetoric proclaims that movement patterns are creative, although nothing in the script has shown them to be anything but ordained. Dance movements,

Lomax concludes, "represent the interplay of economic productivity and a climatically-influenced division of labor on both dance and human history." From the data he presents, the viewer would have to surmise that all climates are the same, logically, since the full scale of dimensionality and trunk unit use, in every combination, is found in every climate.

This raises another problem of the Lomax study. He does not address the combinations of dimensionality within a given dance culture. Polynesians, for example, traditionally combine one-dimensional leg and foot gestures with three dimensional hand and arm gestures. That is, some of them do. With only three dimensionalities, and two body unit styles to be combined and recombined, one must invoke Goldenweiser's principle of limited possibilities. There are, ultimately, only a limited number of dance styles available to human bodies. In contrast, the influences that co-vary with body use are almost limitless.

Probably one of the most revealing features for understanding the relationship of dance to other societal features is that of floor patterns, but they are scarcely alluded to. Likewise, the rhythms and other dynamics of time and energy expenditures of work and dance are important but not considered in the film.

Most serious of all is the fact that Lomax shapes the data to fit his purposes. For example, in the film clip that illustrates the associated use of a metal blade with three dimensional gestures, the same Ontong Java group appears that had been used to illustrate a two-dimensional style of gesturing. There is no explanation for this inconsistency. Neither is the fact revealed that Ontong Java traditionally did not have metal tools. It is a puzzle, anyway, that Ontong Java is featured as representing Polynesia, when it is so atypical of the area.

V. ERRATA

Lomax is careless with documentation, at least in the script. For example, in identifying two clips of the same group, one is labeled as being from the Cook Islands in western Polynesia, and the other is identified as being "Gilbertine," which is in Micronesia.

At one point the film dissolves into a scene identified as being Australian, yet the written script identifies these people as "Hiberos." From viewing the film I believe they are "Jivaros," from South America.

While I am nit-picking, let me comment that I was amused to read in the script that Ceylon includes a group of dancers known as "Candy Dancers."

VI. CONCLUSIONS

At the film's end, the credits for the film clips are rushed through too rapidly to be read. In any case, contributors of footage are not listed in association with the clips, and the viewer is mystified as to sources and contexts of any of the clips and the dates of filming.

It seems fair to note that this film has tried to accomplish much more

than most films attempt, and is therefore peculiarly vulnerable. Nevertheless, as a social science product the film is disappointing. The film presents a complex set of ideas, and certain characteristics of the film prevent it from communicating these ideas adequately. Terms are poorly defined, if at all. Dance movement styles that are supposed to be derived from non-dance movement styles are illustrated, at times, with clips that do not correlate because they are taken from different societies. Some of the features of the analysis system are not clear, especially those of one-, two-, and three-dimensionality, as I discovered when I showed the film "cold" to persons who are not dancers. Further, extraneous value judgements such as Lomax's enthusiastic comment about "great African performers," are distracting.

To the uncritical viewer, the script and its promises, with its occasional poetic prose, and the stunning film clips, might be affective. As a demonstration of logical and orderly research, and as a teaching device, the film is not effective, because it muddies brilliant insights with pat determinisms, and avoidable errors.

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Joann W. Kealiinohomoku

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Contributors of articles in this issue . . .

George List, Professor of Folklore at Indiana University, is well known in these pages through his numerous contributions.

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ERRATA

We regret that the following errors appeared in Artur Simon's article "Types and Functions of Music in the Eastern Highlands of West Irian," *Ethnomusicology* 22(3):441-455, September 1978.

P. 454: The tonal structure for *kaleluknye* (Example 8, bottom, right-hand portion) should read:

(A) G F D C B^b G

P. 455, note 3: "*mot duim wine gum*" should read "*mot dem wine gum.*"

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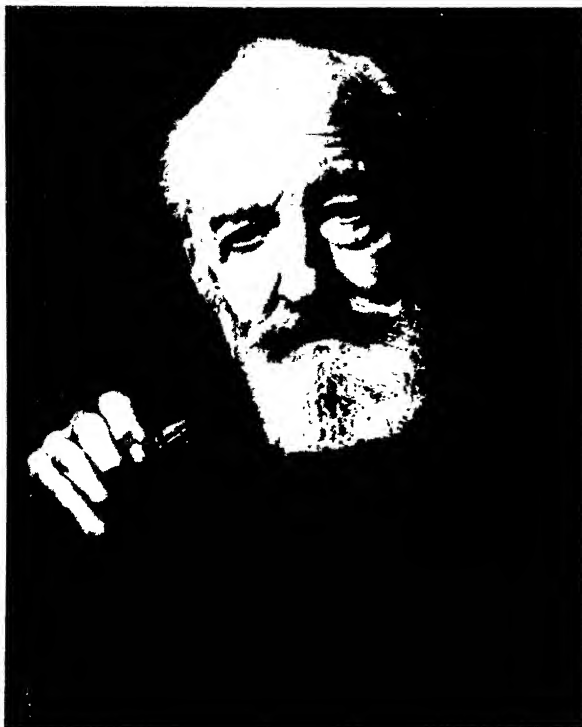
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CHARLES SEEGER, 1886-1979

It is with deep sadness that members of the Society for Ethnomusicology learn of the death of our Honorary President, Charles Seeger. As senior member of the group who sponsored and circulated the Ethnomusicology Newsletter until the Society was formally organized at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Boston in 1955, Charles Seeger contributed invaluable wisdom and counsel in giving direction to the Society. His experience as President of the short-lived American Society for Comparative Musicology (1945-46), an attempt to carry on the work of the Gesellschaft für Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft during the Nazi regime, gave historic depth and background to his younger colleagues in the early years of the Society. He served as President of our Society in 1960-61, and was honored by being named Honorary President in 1972.

Charles Seeger's broad interests in life, music, and humanity made him a very special person. His son Peter, in a memorial written for *Sing Out!* magazine, paints a memorable last portrait: "On his desk, when he died of a heart attack in February, musicologist Charles Seeger had letters going to half a dozen countries, and a folder on which he had noted 'Take to Yale to discuss next week.' Although he was 92, he was living life as fully as anyone could, doing what he loved best, discussing and theorizing

with other musicologists and folklorists." He distinguished himself as a composer, administrator, scholar, and teacher. His lectures at the Institute of Musical Art, the New School for Social Research, the University of California at Berkeley, the Institute of Ethnomusicology at U.C.L.A., Harvard, and Yale, will be remembered by the many privileged to learn from him. He was a gentle, kindly, urbane person, beloved by all who knew him. His presence at the Annual Meetings of the Society will be sorely missed.

Willard Rhodes

From the Editor

The May 1980 issue of *Ethnomusicology* will be a memorial to Charles Seeger. It will not be a Festschrift, since Charles was adamantly opposed to the idea, but something else—perhaps, like the man, *sui generis*. I am open to suggestions from all of you as to appropriate format and content.

Fredric Lieberman

THE ASTONISHED ETHNO-MUSE

David P. McAllester

The ethno-muse, the spirit of ethnomusicology, in her diaphanous robe, wearing her diadem of shrutis, puts down her rebec and picks up her rebab. She plays a few notes and the sounds that come back to her in her trinaural echo-chamber astonish her. Which is a fanciful way of saying that some of the underlying assumptions we started with in this Society and in the discipline of ethnomusicology have changed. We are confronted with a different world in 1978 from that of 20 years ago when the ethno-muse was a fledgling in pinfeathers. At least so it seems to me. I am going to assume the role of this astonished muse (with a bow to Ralph Waldo Emerson and Reuel Denney for their part of the title)¹ and make some observations on these changes.

To describe astonishing changes it is necessary to sketch in how things were before the changes, even though this may be well-known. But let me describe the scene as I saw it and remember it from those heady days in the 1950's when a new constitution for the Society for Ethnomusicology was being written, when an infant discipline was knocking at the door of the American Council of Learned Societies for membership, and when a number of us were attempting to describe and define who and what we were. That formidable polysyllabic, "ethnomusicology," seemed to invite definitions and redefinitions. One that I remember best from the 1950's was provided by my own children on a field trip to Arizona. After a long day's drive we knew that mayhem was about to break out in the back of the car when they began to play a game they had invented and called "Ethnomusicology." They had a plastic toy, a kind of flying saucer. They would start it revolving on its spindle, like a reel on a tape machine, and they would begin to sing: "He, yeyeyeye ya!" Then at some subtle signal they would break off and scream out in raucous chorus, "Eth! no musicology!"

In spite of the echo of their horrid laughter, let us review our stance of 20 years ago. At that time we considered that we were the real discoverers of the World of Music. Never mind that Japan had discovered and mastered Western music a hundred years before and had a half-dozen symphony orchestras in Tokyo alone. We were Discoverers with an enthusiasm that would have left Marco Polo breathless. All the riches of

Tartary had opened themselves to us. Exciting new vistas of scale, melody, rhythm, and the cultural connotations that went with them, stretched to the horizon. The excitement was cross-disciplinary. It extended to ethnologists, musicologists, sociologists, musicians, historians, acousticians, organologists, physicists, computerists, folklorists, linguists, and many others. We were not only excited by the new vistas in music, we were also excited by these others in whose company we were regarding them.

It made it all the more legitimate for us to feel that we were not mere tourists in these fascinating lands we had discovered. We had studied before we went—we had a commitment to learn and to try to understand from the point of view of the cultures we visited. The relativism of anthropology, the global travels of World War II, and the ethical commitment of the Peace Corps had had their effect. We did not want to be Ugly Americans any more, and we went forth with a predisposition to respect, even to revere, cultural differences. We saw ourselves as a kind of Brahmanic Trinity of the arts: we would be the Destroyers of ethnocentrism, the Preservers of rich cultural heritages around the world, and the Creators of cultural understanding. We were eager to assuage the trauma of three centuries of colonialism.

Thanks to the kindness of many people around the world much of the best in all the world's music was made available to us. Some of the most exciting musical artists and thinkers of Abomey and Samarkand and Oudh were willing to visit this country and share with us, in classroom and concert hall, some of their perceptions and abilities. They were touched by the newly discovered interest of the West in their music. They were hospitable to the stream of scholars and students launched in their direction. Some of them even found that there was more interest in their music abroad than at home and they all enjoyed their contacts with fellow visiting artists from other parts of the world. Very rich happenings began to develop and in some ways we even earned our self-bestowed role of Destroyer, Preserver, and Creator.

That heady period, the Delirium of the 50's, was invaluable. It gave us an enormous surge of energy. It impressed the deans and presidents of universities and the grants committees of foundations. But rationality reasserts itself in time and we found ourselves in the sometimes deeply trying Stock-taking of the 60's. We had to consider not only how wonderful it all was but also the question of where it was all headed. The aims and purposes of ethnomusicology as seen in the 60's were probably best summarized in 1964 in Merriam's *Anthropology of Music*. The summary includes a somewhat cooler statement of the Brahmanic Trinity already alluded to:

1. To protect non Western music (and cultures) from misunderstanding and abuse.
2. To record music from vanishing cultures before it was lost forever.
3. To recognize the communication value of music. (He quotes Mantle Hood's chilling reminder of 1961:

In the latter half of the Twentieth Century it may well be that the very existence of man depends on the accuracy of his communications. . .)

4. and finally, Merriam cites Nettl for several goals in terms of what the study of ethnomusicology can do for us: enrich the listener and the composer . . . increase cultural tolerance . . . provide material for scholars on the origins, historical relations and psychology of music.

Merriam goes on to point out his own idea of the broadest objective, underlying all these: our increased understanding of ourselves. He calls for a union between the social sciences and the humanities in achieving that goal since we need both the musicians' and the behavioral scientists' perceptions and techniques in order to study the sound itself and to understand the human behavior that produced the sound (1964:8-16).

One might say that the Delirium of the 50's and the Stock-taking of the 60's were the childhood and adolescence of the ethno-muse. But she was still an innocent, ripe for astonishment, and what produced this astonishment were the Inexorable Consequences of the 70's. Nothing astonishes us more than the ubiquitous and the inevitable, when they finally are perceived. The ubiquitous and the inevitable are very hard to see, like the air we breathe, so I don't dare to suppose I have identified *all* of the Inexorable Consequences of intensive transcultural exposure.

Before I describe them I would like to say they are all the result of one great constant in human culture, which is change. This was a recurring theme in the 1978 annual meeting of the Society of Ethnomusicology. Three sessions were devoted to musical change, and, as many of the papers pointed out, change is not always disaster. After all our impulses to cherish and protect, we should realize that human culture is not a flower with fragile petals ready to drop at the first frosty touch of a new idea. Culture is more like an irresistible plague, pandemic to humankind. New ideas are the food it feeds on, and these can no more be stopped than the perpetuation of life itself. The musical manifestations of culture are, by their sonorous nature, highly evident. They give public notice of the spread of culture.

Rock 'n roll will break out in Leningrad in spite of the interdictions of a supposedly all-powerful State. Gamelan orchestras are floating into the

West in the golden rain of a mass movement. Afro-American music and its derivatives have colonized the world with irresistible melodic, rhythmic and psychic power. The didjeridu is adding its powerful drone to pop and art orchestras in Australia at just about the same time American Country and Western music has taken the fancy of the Aborigines.

What we've been calling musicology and ethnomusicology might better be called "mixmusicology": the term would remind us that the process of music making is the process of change and the assimilation of new ideas. And of course most of these new ideas are really old ones retrimmed, reshaped, recombined, refurbished, represented, reproduced and, finally, reified.

For the most part, this process goes on unabashed. Living musics are not concerned with aesthetic purity. They simply rejoice in any lovely new sound that catches the ear of the composer. And so now we see that for the ethno-muse to be astonished she has to have been born yesterday, in a Euro-American family under elite circumstances. Most of us at this conference fit that description. We are young (at least I like to think so), we are American, and we are scholarly (that is, elite) and university-connected for the most part. We are rigorously trained in linear communication, therefore we believe in the fixity of ideas. We talk (or rather, write) ourselves into the notion of the purity of concepts such as the Enlightenment or Art or Truth. And so we are in a good position to be astonished once in a while when the processes of cultural contagion catch up with us in such a way that we cannot help but perceive them. I will mention three Astonishments, or unexpected Realizations which have recently come to me.

One of my first awakenings was in my own area of research, Navajo music. About 20 years after all Navajos were aware of it, I began to realize that the ceremonial music I was studying, though still vital and functioning in the culture, was not the music that fills the airwaves in the Navajo Nation and in the many thousands of Navajo homes in San Diego, Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, Albuquerque, and Chicago. It is not the music one reads about in the *Navajo Times*.

I began to listen to the many radio stations that broadcast to Navajo listeners and found that the great majority of requests sent in are for Waylon Jennings and Don Williams, rather than Yeibichai songs. I also learned that there are several dozen Navajo Country and Western bands and that four or five of these are publishing their own records. One of these groups, the "Navajo Sundowners," is selling eight-track tapes at such a rate that one of their major outlets, Canyon Records, found its Sundowner sales subsidizing all the rest of its operation. The important thing for me to realize was that if one wants to study the relationship

between music and Navajo culture it is not possible to do so, and probably never was, by working only with the religious and philosophical leaders known to us as ceremonial practitioners. Nowadays one must also carry on research in the offices of record producers, at radio stations, at record stores, and at concerts and rodeos. I remember a fieldwork conference at which William Malm said his research in Japan was different from that of most of us, since much of it had to be conducted in concert halls or in the lairs of the media. This has been true for some time in the Navajo Nation, as well.

In American Indian music in general the great surge of interest in powwow music is matched by a parallel interest in Rock, and, especially on the part of many urban Indians, for such groups as Red Bone and Xit. Jim Pepper's *Powwow* combines Rock with Indian ideas both musically and ideationally. One of his pieces, "Witchi-tai-to," has been incorporated into the repertoire of at least two non-Indian groups in the United States, Brewer and Shipley and the Paul Winter Consort, and has gone international on the record, *Witchi-tai-to*, by a Scandinavian group, the Bobo Stensen Quartet.²

I found that this broadening of my research interests was useful on my recent trip to Australia. In a three-months' stay it would have been impossible to make even a start in learning the complexities of traditional Aboriginal music. I would have needed half a lifetime of preparation. But, as I mentioned, Country and Western is the current popular music of both urban Aboriginals and those on the reserves. I was able to continue my education in pedal steel and Jimmy Rogers in Sydney, Brisbane, and Alice Springs.

Another awakening for me, a close companion to the first, was the realization that all music is ethnic music. This sounds so simple and obvious that it hardly needs enunciation, but a glance at our Journal will show that we are still romantics, fascinated by the strange and exotic. We are so captivated by the panpipes in the hawthorns that we hardly hear the music on the TV show in the living-room. That is natural and understandable—the urge to travel and the fascination with the new are two of the principal causal factors in culture change. But when Pan, too, picks up the electric guitar, we may then realize that it is a musical instrument on a par with the koto or the uli-uli.

We do not have to go to the Sepik River or to the 16th century to find a thesis topic. The reason most of us often do so is because *we*, of all people, do not seem to realize how important music really is. It is a confession of our undervaluation of music that we have to give it the romance of distance-in-time, or distance-in-geography, to make it seem interesting. Yet it has been called ". . . the cooperative art, organic by

definition, social, the noblest form of social behavior we're capable of," by one of the best minds of our era, Ursula Le Guin (1974:156). Abraham Maslow, the psychologist who studied the highest satisfactions human-kind attains, found that music was the peak experience beyond all others (1968). How do we solemnize occasions, ratify religion, stir up patriotic fervor, celebrate victories, usher in the New Year, usher ourselves out to our next incarnation? It is with the United States Marine Band, with organ music, with fifes and drums, psaltry and harp. We come to the end of the efficacy of words and the only recourse left is the National Anthem.

We musicologues should realize better than anyone else that music is the art, *par excellence*, that brings transcendence into the lives of human-kind. And we are among the most informed and expert of the purveyors, technicians, and theoreticians of that transcendence! Most of us are too modest to realize, or even want, our place in the empyrean. We have let the low valuation of music by recent Western European culture obscure the manifest importance of its function in our lives. We are often even apologetic about being musicians or scholars of music as though it were not real work at the center of human existence.

Of course the fact of the matter is that we are terribly important, and we have a great deal to do. Not one music has been fully studied in any moment in its kaleidoscopic history. And as for the cultural meanings behind the musical sound, these are still largely unexplored because we have only begun to ask a few of the more obvious questions. Resolving the answers will be a complex process that will occupy many lifetimes. The refrain, running like a litany through Merriam's *Anthropology of Music*, is "... this needs to be further studied . . .," "... very little information seems to be available concerning this question. . .," "the problems . . . are difficult . . . because of the lack of information concerning this important aspect of human behavior."

Just gathering the information is a task that has hardly begun. Merriam's call to action was 14 years ago, and it is poignantly needed now as it was then. The lack of information and the need of further study increases in geometrical proportion to the passage of time. We can call this observation McAllester's Law.

Let us just admit for a moment that music is the most important occupation and the most important study in the world. Then it follows that there should not only be a music historian in every great university, there should be one or more in every community. By the same token, every community should have its music ethnologist, sociologist, folklorist, its music entrepreneur, impresario, arbiter, its chorus, band, orchestra, avant garde, and pro musica antiqua. Perhaps all of these people will one day be paid by a grateful community for performing,

advising, and keeping track of the most important activity in town. The National Endowments for the Humanities and the Arts are a promising start in the right direction.

The third awakening I want to mention is another realization of what had been going on under my nose for quite some time. It has to do with "performing" in that list of the most important things going on in town. Scratch a musicologist or an ethnomusicologist or a folklorist or an ethnologist and you find a doer, a performer. Human beings want to do things and we forget this to our peril. It is no accident that Mantle Hood is exploring the complexities of the Hawaiian guitar and Frank Gillis plays a marvelous ragtime. Human beings want to do things and we are human beings. In the Delirium of the 1950's the urge to *do* with non-Western musics found its way into the academy. The first to encourage, make possible, demonstrate the feasibility, and give it a name was, of course, Mantle Hood. He called it "bi-musicality." Now *poly*-musicality is a well-recognized fact of life even in the universities, but a new aspect of it has added to the astonishment of our already flabbergasted ethno-muse. This is, to coin a jaw-breaker, polymusicality. But this process is only astonishing to a very sheltered muse. The process of music is music making and like every other process of human culture it seizes on every new and interesting idea and incorporates it into itself.

These new young poly-composers are not only gifted with the musical insights of several cultures, they are also articulate. Let me cite one of them, Barbara Benary of Livingston College at Rutgers. She is describing a point in polycomposition beyond the mere borrowing of an instrument or an exotic mode (1978):

Many composers . . . who delve . . . into world musics in search of materials often reach the point where the musics and cultures they are studying become more a focus than their own compositional work. They musically "go native" and become performers of the music or musicologists of it. The field of ethnomusicology is heavily peopled with composers and former composers. I myself am among them. There comes a delightful point beyond which it no longer seems to matter whether one is using ethnic music or serving it; it can become so familiar that it no longer seems "ethnic"—but just another musical language which one speaks or thinks in. . . .

Whether or not these adventures prove to be of lasting merit has not been our concern since it is the future which will bother itself over such a judgment and we are writing and playing now. For those of us involved it is an absorbing and logical synthesis of our cross cultural experiences and interests.

Dale Craig, another young composer-ethnomusicologist writes (1974:8):

An American way of regarding the move toward world musics would be to think of it as an extension of Ivesian transcendentalism: remember his final, unfinished "Universe" Symphony and its embracing of humanity. For me to be

doing research in Chinese music, writing music heavily indebted to Asian ideas and procedures as well as European ones, and teaching both traditions to young Cantonese in Hong Kong is thoroughly natural at this point in history and somehow quintessentially American.

Probably everyone here has had the kind of experience that gives rise to words such as these—a revelation, an astonishment, a sense of “that’s what I’ve been looking for, for the last fifteen years!” Astonishment is not always caused by the totally strange—it can be caused by the totally familiar just now recognized. Let me give you an example of the strange/familiar from Ananda Coomaraswamy from 50 years ago. His muse was the grandfather of our ethno-muse.

Indian music is essentially impersonal: it reflects an emotion and an experience which are deeper and wider and older than the emotion of wisdom of any single individual. Its sorrow is without tears, its joy without exultation and it is passionate without any loss of serenity. It is in the deepest sense of the words all-human. But when the Indian prophet speaks of inspiration, it is to say that the Vedas are eternal, and all that the poet achieves by his devotion is to hear or see: it is then Sarasvati, the goddess of speech and learning, or Narada, whose mission it is to disseminate occult knowledge in the sound of the strings of his vina, or Krishna whose flute is forever calling us to leave the duties of the world and follow Him—it is these, rather than any human individual, who speak through the singer’s voice, and are seen in the movements of the dancer.

Or we may say that this is an imitation of the music in heaven. The master musicians of India are always represented as the pupils of a god, or as visiting the heavenworld to learn there the music of the spheres—that is to say, their knowledge springs from a source far within the surface of the empirical activity of the waking consciousness (1924:79).

A thunderbolt like that changes perception. You are another person, a different kind of composer after such possibilities are opened up to you. Since this is my main point, let me make it again with another example from an entirely different ground of perception. This is from a song about the first house on earth and I suspect that it is a concept of house construction new to most of my readers.

The house under the east is a sacred place,
Now the home of Talking God is a sacred place,
The house made of dawn is a sacred place
The house made of white corn is a sacred place,
The house made of all kinds of soft fabrics is a sacred place,
The house made of gathered rain waters is a sacred place,
The house made of corn pollen is a sacred place,
Now it is the house of long life and everlasting beauty; it is a sacred place
Here at this house, it is a sacred place,
Here at this house, it is a sacred place. . . (Frisbie 1967:183).

Later in the song series the house beams are named: They are Wood Woman, Mountain Woman, Corn Woman, and Water Woman. The refrain says “I talk to them, they listen to me as they fall into place”

(Wyman 1970:114-5). Again, one feels the sense of enlargement. The opportunity to participate in a range of imagination such as this is a perquisite of transcultural research but it cannot be bought easily. The process of trans-musicality that young composers like Benary and Craig describe is qualitatively something very different from the simple borrowings of Western composers over the last hundred years or so. Benary refers to it as "delving" into world musics: it sounds almost as simple as digging in the backyard. But I happen to know that in her case this delving involved 12 years of study in the United States, three trips to India, one to Java, and study of the Indian violin, voice, and *kanjira* and also the *gadulka*, *tapan*, *erh-hu*, and *vielle*.

I would like to say a word about this quality of depth entering into an age-old cultural process. It is new and astonishing only in American Universities. I already mentioned that it has gone on in Western music in Japan for over a hundred years. It has gone on in the United States with African music for 300 years. This has implications for the great cultural grey-out that Alan Lomax fears when everything distinctive of local quality and identity will be lost in one vast reduced and muddy gene-pool of culture. No one puts it more eloquently than he can (1977:679):

It is agonizing to look over this roster of the species and to reflect that it is in good part a roll call of dead or dying peoples and that this taxonomy is an artificial game played with grave markers. Many of the cultures in these lists have vanished with all hands in the tidal wave of industrial civilization and now occupy fictitious positions on the ethnographic map. Many others exist only in the memories of powerless oldsters whose descendants walk, without gods or ancestors, into the alienating environment of the urban sprawl.

Therefore in creating this human taxonomy we are posting a notice of the death of human values on the doors of all human council chambers. . . . Reduction of cultural variety limits human variation and adaptability, and thus the continued loss of cultural autonomies means a shrinking of our genetic resources which will sooner or later threaten our biological future as a species.

It would seem that these polycomposers I have been describing are among the most effective agents of the very process Lomax is concerned about. Where does the infection start but in the mixing of ideas in the mind of any single culture bearer?

I am indebted to a lively discussion on culture loss with members of the anthropology department at the University of Queensland for a realization as to what is on the other side of that coin. The perception of minority and disadvantaged people as having only the remnants of a culture has been questioned in recent years and it was, that afternoon, as we discussed the condition of the Aborigines in Australia. John von Sturma said, "Every time I go to Hermannsburg I find that the Aranda have invented a different culture from the one they had when I was there before." He went on to say that it was the same for the language they

spoke and that all this change was not the function of new European ideas taking over, it was change for practical reasons or the sheer pleasure in it, just as change was going on in the University community at St. Lucia. In other words, it is a distortion of what culture is to take a sighting from some description in the ethnographic past and consider all variation from that moment to be cultural loss. New gods and new ancestors are coming up all the time. Just as the ethnographer starts to write down what he sees (and this goes for the musicologist, too) the clear outlines of the culture as it was a moment ago begin to get wavery. By the time the monograph appears it has become historical information.

But the change is not simply into a dreary facsimile of the worst in Western Culture. For one thing, Western Culture is changing too. It also reinvents itself. To borrow Lomax's biological mode, it undergoes cell division, cross-breeding, and the fickle process of evolution, which is mostly a series of accidents. Variations occur in rapid succession. There will never be musicologists or ethnologists enough to keep up with the revolutions of the vast wheel of culture.

Emerson's astonished muse underwent this emotion because of the surprising democratization of the arts in 19th century America. Coomaraswamy called for a long step further than the gift of the arts to the common man, he called for a transcultural availability.

The ethnomuse's astonishment stems from just such a transcultural democratization, but one that has gone beyond Coomaraswamy's hopes and perhaps even what he would have considered permissible. As the field of ethnomusicology took shape we might have predicted it. Most of us were thinking still in cultural compartments and orderly progressions from one to another, like the decorous movement from one classroom to another at the end of 50 minutes.

I referred to our tendency not only to respect but to revere non-Western cultures. It followed that we had the impulse to preserve these separate chambers as they were at some golden moment of their highest artistic achievement, however that might be defined. But, to our astonishment, what has happened has been indecorous, and the tidy walls have turned out to be imaginary. Culture flows where it will unmindful of culturologists of any ilk.

I have recorded my own tardy realizations, which I vaingloriously called those of the ethno-muse. One was of how United States pop music has become a part of American Indian culture. But I do not see that culture as dying, therefore. Another realization was how important music is, and this came to me along with the conviction, finally, and not just the theory, that all music is ethnic music. That is when Pan picked up the electric guitar.

The culminating realization was of the lively trafficking in polymusic-composition-ality that is one of the most exciting facts of music life in the 1970's. All cultures are mixtures. One more distinction is becoming blurred. Music students in Western culture will have to have expertise in ethnomusicology in order to study the composers we will all be confronted with in the late 20th and in the 21st century. I see new cultures, large and small, emerging all around us, and I rejoice that the human species and what we create are so varied, so variable, and so interesting.

NOTES

1. Emerson's "Ode to W. H. Channing" refers to the democratization of the arts, one result of which being that "the astonished muse finds thousands at her side." Denney's *The Astonished Muse* (1957) is a penetrating book on popular culture.

2. Jim Pepper's *Powwow*, "Witchi-tai-to," Love Truth Music Co.; Michael Brewer and Tom Shipley, *Weeds*, Buddha Records KSBS 2016; "Witchi-tai-to," Bobo Stensen Quartet, Polydor ECM 1041 ST, *Witchi-tai-to*; "Witchi-tai-to," Paul Winter Consort, *Oregon, Winterlight*, Vanguard VSD 79350.

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CANADA

THE INCA CANTAR HISTÓRICO: A LEXICO-HISTORICAL ELABORATION ON TWO CULTURAL THEMES

John M. Schechter

Various types of indigenous musical history-recounting activity are reported for the preconquest and immediate postconquest Americas. Simmons cites chronicle accounts of *areíto* song-dances in Hispaniola, in which Indians recounted past events, notably the lives of their several chiefs (1960:103). Simmons relates further chronicle evidence for historical song-performance among Aztec of Mexico (then New Spain), Indians of the Nicaragua-Honduras zone, Chibcha of Colombia (then Nueva Granada), Inca, and Indians of Paraguay. Girard gives an early chronicle account of historical songs sung at funeral ceremonies among Venezuelan Caquetío (1975:14-15). That such practices have been observed by at least certain North American tribes for perhaps hundreds of years may be inferred from Boas's comment that the Kwakiutl had long songs in which their ancestors' greatness was extolled in the form of recitatives (1927:337).

The objectives of this paper are to document what I shall term, after Lara (1967:317-318), the *cantar histórico*, historical song, as an established Inca tradition; further, to demonstrate via chronicle evidence the relationship of the *cantar histórico* to two predominant foci of Inca culture: retention of ancestral memory, and elaborate lamenting on the death of an Inca. The concept of "metaphor-cells" is applied to lexical items in the classic Colonial Quechua-Spanish dictionary, the *Vocabulario* of González Holguín (1608), in an endeavor to relate these items to certain chronicle data, with the purpose of seeking to identify salient aspects of Inca—preconquest and immediate postconquest—culture, in particular, musical culture.¹ Table 1 elaborates certain Inca cultural guideposts that will be mentioned in this paper.

In three of the most highly regarded (Means 1928; Lara 1967) chronicle accounts of Inca life, those penned by Pedro de Cieza de León (*Segunda Parte de la Crónica del Perú*, 1553?), el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (*Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, 1609), and Antonio de la Calancha (*Corónica Moralizada del Orden de San Agustín en el Perú*, 1638), one finds three types of Inca specialists responsible, in effect, for preserv-

TABLE 1
Pertinent Inca Cultural Guideposts.

<i>cantar histórico</i>	— Historical song, particularly that chanted by the <i>harahuicu</i> before the Inca and Inca nobility at major festivals or upon the death of an Inca.
<i>taqui</i> or <i>taki</i>	— Song with or without dance.
<i>araui</i> or <i>arawi</i>	— A love-song or festival song; there were at least 5 types of love-song.
<i>quipu</i>	— A kind of colored and/or non-colored group of knotted strings used to record information; there were apparently various <i>quipu</i> -codes which served to convey various types of data.
<i>qillqa</i>	— "To write," in Quechua. According to Lara (1967:365), this may have referred to a system of pictographic writing, to relief figures, or to painted staffs; Lara considers these to be forms of proto-writing used by the Inca and that the <i>quipus</i> were, in fact, a system of writing.
<i>quipucamayoc</i>	— <i>Quipu</i> specialists—the "almanacs" of the Empire. Existed at various political levels. Passed on synopses of Inca speeches, messages, to descendants.
<i>amautas</i>	— Wise elders, philosophers. May also have been instructors at <i>yachahuasi</i> (school for sons of Inca nobility) in Cuzco.
<i>harahuicu</i>	— Rhetorically gifted poet-chanters. Composed synoptic verses on Inca past and sang these to the Inca in <i>Haucaypata</i> plaza, Cuzco on major festivals or upon death of an Inca.
<i>curaca</i>	— One of the provincial nobility.
<i>panaca</i>	— The family of the dead Inca and their descendants.
<i>Inti Raymi</i>	— Feast of the Sun. Held at winter solstice (late June, early July, southern hemisphere); major feast of Inca calendar, according to Cieza de León.
<i>purucc aya (n)</i>	— Funeral procession by wives and kinsmen of deceased Inca nobility.
<i>yana (cona)</i>	— Males retained from the provinces on a percentage basis to perform management and blue-collar responsibilities for Inca nobility in Cuzco; they also acted as <i>panaca</i> attendants and, according to Betanzos, as <i>panaca cantar histórico</i> singers.
<i>mama (cona)</i>	— Females retained from provinces to serve Inca nobility in Cuzco. Acted as supervisors for convent there; also acted as <i>panaca</i> attendants and, possibly, also as <i>cantar histórico</i> singers. They played drum accompaniment to the <i>cantar histórico</i> sung at Inti Raymi.

ing the memory of past Inca leaders. The *quipucamayocs*, secretaries to the Inca, demographers at all political levels of the Empire, and/or experts at recording on the *quipus* various categories of specific data, both strictly arithmetical and non-arithmetical (Lara 1967:363-370), made synopses of the Inca's speeches and other materials, memorized them, and passed on the information in that form to their descendants. *Amautas* (*jamaut'a* means "wise" in Quechua), wise elders, composed brief historical stories, which were passed on by word of mouth to succeeding

generations. *Harahuicus*, or poets, chosen for their rhetorical ability (Cieza XI), wrote brief synoptic verses on Inca history, which they sang to the Inca at festivals of great joy or sadness, notably upon the death of one of the Inca royal family (Cieza XII).

A major festive annual event was the celebration, after the winter solstice in late June or early July, of *Inti Raymi*, the Feast of the Sun. According to Cieza, who lived in Cuzco in 1550, during this festival celebrated Empire-wide thanks were offered to the Inca god of Creation, Ticiviracocha, and to the Sun, Moon, and other deities for having delivered a just-completed bountiful harvest. The high point of the annual feast was the men's singing, in loud voices, of "romances which had been composed by their elders for such days" (Cieza XXX); Cieza's use of both the verb "*cantar*," "to sing," and not "*contar*," "to relate," as well as his choice of the term "romance" argues for the fact that these were indeed sung performances (Grebe 1967:24, n 4).

At *Inti Raymi* and at other major Inca festivals, the effect of the musical recounting of the great exploits of past Incas was amplified by these rulers' presence: the mummies of the deceased leaders were in attendance, assiduously cared for by their *panaca*. Each of eleven Inca *panacas* had its own palace, in which the mummies of the principal Inca and his queen were preserved, and its own "estates," including prized residences in the Cuzco area and shrines and lands for cultivation and pasturage (Schaedel 1978:301).

Ancestral memory was kept fresh in the provinces, as well as in the capital of Cuzco. Martín de Morúa (1590) describes what is undoubtedly a provincial celebration, not explicitly linked to a specific festival, in which men and women joined hands and sang of the deeds of past Incas in a responsorial fashion; a single chanter began and was followed by the rest in chorus. This historical song-performance lasted several hours (Morúa 1590:176).

Extensive lamenting prevailed at the death of an Inca or of an important *curaca*. His most favored attendants and officials and his most beloved women were permitted to sacrifice themselves in order to serve him in the next life. Garcilaso details how, for the first month after the death of an Inca, provincial Indians, by neighborhood, went out daily into the Cuzco streets to lament his passing; in loud voices they recited his deeds in battle and the favors he had done them in the particular province from which they had come (Garcilaso VI:5). After one month, they repeated this mourning ceremony every fifteen days for a year. The anniversary of the death was recorded with great solemnity, with "unimaginable" (Cieza XXXII) amounts of sacrifices and laments. Garcilaso adds that able male or female mourners, *endechederas*, were chosen at this

time; in dirges they spoke of the greatness of the late ruler. The grieving was not limited to Cuzco. In the provinces, mourners would wander about, stopping at places where the Inca had paused when visiting their region; these spots became shrines.

Official postmortem events in Cuzco are described by Cieza in great detail (Cieza XI). Upon the death of an Inca, rhetorically gifted *quipucamayocs* (or *harahuicus*) devoted themselves entirely, for a period of time, to learning the great exploits of the late monarch and composing songs about him. The songs were to place the events of his life in careful order and were to be highly praising of the deceased, such that the people, when they heard the songs, would know and admire his deeds. The songs were to be performed only when there was a large gathering of people from all over the kingdom, or when the new Inca and his royal family were together for relaxation. Cieza observes: "On such occasions, those who knew the romances, in loud voices, looking at the Inca, sang to him of what had been accomplished by his predecessors" (Cieza XI). If an Inca had been cowardly, given to vices, or had not augmented the Empire, the chanters were told to remember little or nothing about him, except perhaps his name.

Several chroniclers (Pizarro 1571:251; Cobo 1653:XIV:19; Santa Cruz Pachacuti-Yamqui Salcamayhua 1613?:185-86) describe both the general concept and specific historical instances of the *purucc aya*, or death procession. The custom prescribed the annual mourning of deceased noble husbands by the wives and remaining *panaca* of the deceased; his kinsmen bore his vestments and arms in front, his wives carried *chicha*, Andean fermented corn beer consumed on ceremonial occasions, behind. The *panaca* procession was often accompanied by non-*panaca* female Indians, who, accompanying themselves with drums, sang of the deeds of the deceased. The *panaca purucc aya* with its chain of mourners concords with Garcilaso's description of Cuzco lamenting-by-neighborhood described earlier in this paper.

In sum, performance occasions for Inca historical song were joyful or sad; highly ceremonial, in the capital city, or rather informal, in the provinces; elaborated by specially selected soloists (at the death or death-anniversary of an Inca), by a mixed group, in responsorial fashion, or by wandering mourners, probably in a distinctly unstructured manner. The effect of all performance-forms was similar: they reminded performers and listeners alike of the military greatness, personal kindness, and sayings of deceased monarchs. This effect served the expressed wishes of the ruling Inca dynasty; that is, that the new Inca and the entire population should retain a vivid memory of and a great admiration for their ancestral lords. Lacking a universally available written means of communication,

the Incas required a strong oral tradition of stories and narrative songs to aid in the task of sustaining a continuity of empire.

The chroniclers are united in the consensus that all of the *official* history-transmitters, the *quipucamayocs*, *amautas*, and *harahuicus* were uniquely capable and were held in high esteem by rulers and non-rulers alike. Cieza states that the specially selected chanters were "honored" and "favored" by the Inca and that, for a time, they were occupied exclusively with their compositional tasks (Cieza XI). Cieza remarks at another point that, among these singers of historical song, "there are many with great memories" (Cieza XII). Garcilaso devotes a full paragraph to detailing how the *quipucamayocs* were sought out by the provincial nobility for all kinds of information, and that they were exempted from paying tribute and from performing any service other than attending to their *quipus* (Garcilaso VI:9). Cobo admires the *amautas*' dedication to retaining the historical traditions when he comments that, given that they had no writing, they (the *amautas*) made up for the lack by learning and retaining "religion"-related material so exactly that it would seem they had had the knowledge sculpted into their bones (Cobo XIII:1). An anthropologist of demonstrated Andean expertise believes the *amautas* "must have dominated the intellectual life of the Empire," with their wide range of scientific and humanistic knowledge (Mishkin 1940:231).

THE VOCABULARIO OF GONZÁLEZ HOLGUÍN

The *Vocabulario de la Lengua General de Todo el Peru Llamada Lengua Qquichua o del Inca* (1608), by the Jesuit linguistic anthropologist Diego González Holguín, has been called by a Peruvian historian "without a doubt the most complete, sagacious, and revealing of all the linguistic compendia of the 17th and 18th centuries" (Porras Barrenechea *Prólogo* to the 1952 edition:vi). Its value for musicological investigation has been demonstrated by Roel Pineda, in his study of the *wayno* of Cuzco (1959), and by Stevenson, in his examination of Inca organology (1968:258-61). Serving for nearly 30 years in Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Argentina, this modest man of God and assiduous grammarian and lexicographer, considered the Indians, his informants, not himself, the real authors of his *Vocabulario*. The collection of some 700 pages contains not only single-word entries as per the modern Western language dictionary, but numerous word-combinations, proverbial expressions, all in use in the Cuzco area in the late 16th century. Stevenson (1968:260-61) notes, with the example of the Quechua root *huancar*, drum, that musical instrument-derived metaphors entered Quechua

speech. Elaborating on this observation of Stevenson's, I would propose that González Holguín's multiple entries about a single Quechua root or, at times, several roots, suggest metaphor-cells, because the expressions, taken as a group, although they may refer to distinct experiential domains, nevertheless are united by metaphorical relation whose locus of meaning is the semantic domain represented by the one or the several roots. Certain metaphor-cells are especially dense, that is, they ramify both through subtleties of meaning in a single domain and through metaphorically related domains; an example is the metaphor-cell represented by the root *huaccay*, lament, to be examined below.

It is hypothesized that the González Holguín *Vocabulario* dense metaphor-cells point to key speaking patterns, signify salient cultural concepts, and also reflect normative values. The 16th century Quechua metaphor-cells, then, have implications for expressive culture, cultural conceptual organizational structure, and cultural notions of normative values. This "density" of signification is what enables the metaphor-cells to corroborate the chronicle data presented above and below as to the two dominant Inca cultural themes of lamenting and memory retention; furthermore, the elaboration of selected cells permits us to advance possible reasons for the chronicle-attested esteem in which the Inca bards were held by the nobility. Moreover, particular *Vocabulario* expressions appear to support the division of labor described by Cieza, Garcilaso, and Calancha in the history-transmission process. Finally, certain expressions seem to confirm the numerous allusions in the chronicles, of which one was presented above (Morúa), to responsorial song-performance practice (cf., in addition to Morúa 1590:176, the following: Arriaga 1621:53; Cobo 1653:XIV:17; Poma de Ayala 1613?:foja 319). Two notions that should be borne in mind throughout the following discussion are: 1) Bruner's idea that metaphor is effective by connecting previously unconnected domains of experience, producing an initial "shock of recognition" followed by acceptance (Bruner 1962:3-5); and, 2) a suggestion made to me by Joseph Bastien that, by associating analogous qualities, metaphor brings continuity into culture, transforming disparate experiences into meaningful wholes.

Let us look first (Table 2) at expressions from the *Vocabulario* pertaining to music in general, thence to those relating to responsorial practice. From the root *taqui*, "song," *taquini* or *taquicuni*, "to sing without dancing or to sing while dancing." *Ñauraycuna*, "all type of"; *ñauraycuna taqui*, all type of song—hence, "music." The agentive nominalizer suffix *-k*, plus the plural nominal suffix *-cuna*, suggest various types of music-makers, or, "musicians." Vocal registers are conveyed by the size of the throat or voice, *cunc(c)a*; *chacu*, "one unlike the other"; *-yoc* is the

TABLE 2

A.	Music and Musicians (Roots: <i>taqui</i> —song; <i>ñauraycuna</i> —all type of)
	1. <i>taquini, o taquicuni</i> —to sing without dancing or to sing while dancing.
	2. <i>ñauraycuna taqui</i> —music.
	3. <i>ñauraycuna taquikcuna</i> —musicians.
B.	Vocal Register/Character and Responsorial Song-Performance Practice
	(Roots: <i>cunc(c)a</i> —throat, neck, voice;
	<i>chacu</i> —one unlike the other;
	<i>hucay</i> —to pick up)
	1. <i>pisicun(c)a runa</i> —one with a small voice.
	2. <i>hatun (racu) cunca</i> —one with thick, deep voice.
	3. <i>llañu cunca</i> —high voice.
	4. <i>chacu concayoc</i> —those of different voices, some high, some low.
	5. <i>taquicta hucarik</i> —he who intones the song or who begins it, or whom all others follow.
C.	History-Recounting Activity
	(Roots: <i>yachay</i> —to know;
	<i>huaccay</i> —to cry;
	<i>hahua</i> —outside, out-of-the-ordinary)
	1. <i>huccaripuni</i> —To tell of what happened in the past, giving examples, in a loud voice, to many people.
	2. <i>huacanqui runa</i> —Man with charm.
	3. <i>taquiyachak huacanqui</i> —A trained, knowing musician capable of holding an audience. He had to be knowledgeable in music, singing, and in the old myths or stories. (Apparently, <i>taquiyachak huacanqui</i> could have = <i>harahuicu</i>)
	4. <i>hahuaricuy yachak</i> —One learned in recounting the fabulous marvels of the ancestors. (Apparently, <i>hahuaricuy yachak</i> could have = <i>amauta</i>)

possessive-agentive suffix, “with, having”; hence, *chacu concayoc*, “those of different voices, some high, some low.” *Hucay*, “to pick up”; *hucarik*, one who picks up; *-ta*, the accusative postposition; *taquic(k)*, musician; hence, *taquicta hucarik*, one who “picks up” a musician—i.e., a song-leader, “he who intones the song or who begins it, or whom all others follow.” These expressions suggest groups of mixed voices and leader-chorus responsorial singing. As was mentioned above, several of the chroniclers alluded to these practices, by both Inca nobility and provincial Indians.

“*Huccaripuni*,” “Tell of what happened in the past, giving examples, in a loud voice, to many people,” encapsulates the character of the solo “song-reporting” spoken of above in connection with *Inti Raymi* and with post-mortem ceremonies, in Cuzco. A “*huacanqui runa*” is a “you-cry man,” one who is well-loved, charismatic, charming. The “*taquiyachak* (knowing musician) *huacanqui* (charmer),” as defined here by González Holguín, appears to embody the role of the chroniclers’

harahuicu; it is proposed that *taquiyachak huacanqui* is functionally synonymous with "*harahuicu*," the Quechua term favored for this role by the chroniclers. An analogous functional parallelism is proposed for (González Holguín's) *hahuaricuy yachak* and (the chroniclers') *amauta*. It appears that late 16th century Cuzco Quechua still knew and used terms that described the setting of historical song-performances and types of performer-specialists for such settings. Moreover, Cieza's emphasis on the fact that the bards were specially selected for their rhetorical gifts appears confirmed by the choice of Quechua words for the specialists.

Table 3 elaborates metaphor-cells, capsules of semantic meaning suggested by one or more roots. It must be emphasized at the outset that the expressions printed here represent in most cases only a part of the total number of such expressions that appeared in the González Holguín *Vocabulario* and that *could* have been included here with each cell. There is an unmistakable preoccupation, among late 16th century Quechua, with loud sound in general and a clear admiration for one who expresses himself authoritatively. As was suggested above with "*huacanqui runa*" and "*taquiyachak huacanqui*," the gifted speaker also is admired. Esteem for the good speaker is counterbalanced by disdain for those who express themselves poorly or incorrectly. An emphasis on the quality of individual memory is reflected in expressions for memory, learning by memory, and a tripartite gradation in memory capability. The suggestion is that quality of memory is one criterion for judging a personality, for deciding the esteem in which that individual will be held. It will be recalled that three of the most conscientious of the chroniclers, Cieza, Garcilaso, and Bernabé Cobo, singled out for particular mention the historical song-performances' being in a loud voice and the *quipucamayocs*, *amautas*, and *harahuicus* having unusually good memories. Selected expressions from in-fact denser metaphor-cells from the González Holguín *Vocabulario* appear to provide evidence of the high value placed by 16th century Cuzqueños on just those traits possessed by the bards, suggesting cultural justification for the esteem in which they are said to have been held.

Memory-retention was not merely a laudable individual characteristic; retention of ancestral memory, as discussed earlier, played a major role in the ethos of Inca society as a whole. It would have been appropriate that those with exceptional memories were selected for leading positions in Inca expressive culture, in which their very function was to utilize their memories and rhetorical skills to spark the memories of all their listeners: the bards and the Inca nobility were in a symbiotic relationship whose keystone was memory; without memory, neither the bards, nor the Inca nobility, nor the Inca Empire would have survived.

TABLE 3

Metaphor-cells in the González Holquín *Vocabulario***A. Loud-Forceful-Authoritative Speech**(Roots: *kacchay*—force; *kacca*—echo; *kaçñiy*—thunder; *rimay*—to speak)

1. *hatun rimni kaçurccumuk o hatun rimak*—one who speaks with authority or with loud voice and with spirit so that people respect him.
2. *kaçucachani*—to speak loudly to bargain, or to speak authoritatively, spiritedly.
3. *kaccharuna, o kaccayniyoc*—the spirited, animated person, a respected, feared person.
4. *kacssarcuni rimayta*—to speak or sing forcefully or loudly.

B. Good Speaker—Entertaining Speaker(Roots: *kallu*—tongue; *mizqui*—sweet; *napaycuna*—greet)

1. *ñauchikalluancharimak*—sharp of tongue, great speaker.
2. *kallu*—an ingenious man, capable of doing everything; especially good at entertaining.
3. *mizquisimi*—smooth persuader.
4. *rimayta usachic*—good speaker.
5. *napaycunacuycamayoc*—good conversationalist; can speak entertainingly without tiring others.

C. Inappropriate/Mistaken Singing or Speaking(Roots: *hancu*—unripe, raw; *ccuru*—deformed; *qquencu*—twisted)

1. *hancuctani taquini*—to sing badly, to err while singing.
2. *ccuru kallu*—one who does not know how to speak well and who speaks slowly and in a constrained fashion.
3. *qquencu qquencucta rimani, o rimay huan qquencuchicuni*—to speak evasively, deceitfully.

D. Memory (Roots: *soncco*—heart; *huma*—head; *hapik*—grasp)

1. *soncco hapik o huma hapik*—memory.
2. *humayman hapini sonccoypi, o sonccoyhuan o sonccoymán happini*—to learn by heart.
3. *ancha sonccoman hapik*—he who has a good memory.
4. *mana humaman hapik*—he who has no memory.
5. *pisihappik*—he who has little memory.

E. Lament-Weep-Sound (Root: *huaccay*—lament)

1. *huaccachini*—to make something sound; to play.
2. *huaccasini*—to aid another in lamenting, or to mourn the dead.
3. *huanunminispa huaccapayascacac*—he who has been mourned at his death.
4. *huaccayccuccuni*—to weep tenderly, lovingly, to oneself, patiently.
5. *huaccaycachani*—to walk around crying, lamenting, often.
6. *huaccay huchha*—the boy who is always crying and never stops.
7. *huaccanayani*—to be about to cry, or to want to cry.
8. *huacca pucuk*—mourners (chronicle *endechederas*, specially selected)
9. *huaccapucuni*—to mourn the dead in prayers.

F. A Musical Metaphor

1. *qquencu qquencucta taquini*—to sing, warble, or to sing counterpoint.
2. *taquiyta qquencochini*—to sing, to sing in counterpoint.

Fernandez, remarking on the need for sensitivity in ethnography to local figures of speech, especially metaphor, distinguishes between structural or analogic metaphor, in which predication is made based on a structural isomorphism, and textual metaphor, in which it is made on the basis of a similar feeling tone (1974:119, 123). The metaphor-cell signified by the unifying root *huaccay*, "lament," both embodies meanings that articulate "lament" and operates as a textual metaphor, in Fernandez's sense, to embody meanings that juxtapose different semantic domains (recall Bruner's comment on the effectiveness of metaphor in general). *Huaccachini*, "to play," as an instrument, connects animate and inanimate domains (person-instrument); for the sound of the Andean *quena* (vertical end-notched flute), the metaphor is textually apt.² The list of 9 expressions constituting the *huaccay* metaphor-cell, less than half of the complete metaphor-cell in González Holguín, suggests that the locus, mournful sound, is a highly present sound phenomenon, one felt closely and constantly. Such is the impression received from the chronicle descriptions of Empire-wide lamenting at the Inca's death and periodically thereafter. Mournful sound, evidenced in intra- and inter-domain linguistic elaboration and in ethnographic data, was another fount of Inca expressive culture.

A check on tentative conclusions about Inca culture drawn from 16th and 17th century ethnographic and linguistic data is examination of contemporary Andean culture. In his recent investigation of the operation of Qollahuaya metaphor and ritual in Ayllu (Mount) Kaata, Titicaca zone, Bolivia, Bastien finds that the mountain (the *ayllu*) on which the Qollahuayas live has served in the past and continues to serve today as a unifying metaphor for their lives: their social principles, economic organization, territorial ties. Through the operation of ritual symbols, Qollahuayans have expressed their oneness with the mountain (Bastien 1978:xxv). Bastien presents ethnohistorical evidence, furthermore, that Kaatans have been perceiving their mountain as a body since the late 16th century (*ibid.*:xx). In effect, Bastien concludes that those terms and expressions that are highly metaphorical in a particular Andean cultural setting hold the key to various aspects of that culture. Bastien describes the operation of the mountain/body metaphor in a first haircutting ritual in Ayllu Kaata; during the ritual, the godparents cut their godchild's hair and give the child clothes and a ewe to begin a flock (*ibid.*:112-13):

I clipped it [his godchild's hair] telling everyone that I was replacing Margarita's hair with a sheep whose wool would clothe her. I put the hair into a plate with three coca leaves, praying, as Marcelino [the godchild's grandfather and Bastien's friend] had instructed me, "Kaypi tejisi Margaritapah!" ("This is the cement of Margarita.") Tejisi, the foundation of Andean houses, are cemented rocks upon which the walls, two layers of adobe, are set. The first set of

clothing and sheep are like the foundation and walls of a house. The ewe will grow wool and reproduce, forming the foundation of clothes and flock. The clothes circumscribe the person like the walls surround a house.

More significantly, *tejjsi* also means "origin." The person's head is associated with the summit of the mountain where pastoral grass grows and llamas graze. Grass and hair share the quality of regrowth. The cycled quality of grass and hair metaphorically applies to Andean cosmology, which teaches that people come out of highland lakes, journey down the slopes, die, and return to the highlands where they "grow back" once again.

Having lived for some 7 years on the Bolivian altiplano, dominating Quechua and Aymara, Bastien relates several additional examples of how certain principal expressions, like *tejjsi*, operate to highlight the pervasive Kaatan mountain/body metaphor, especially in ritual contexts. The work of Flores Ochoa (e.g., 1976) also bears upon the metaphoric operation of ritual symbols in the Andean high puna.

Whereas González Holguín's 16th century Cuzco metaphor-cell on *huaccay* operated textually, the 16th century and 20th century Quechua musical metaphor-cell on *qquencu* operates structurally.³ Table 3, C.3, shows *qquencu* in a speech-expression, "to speak 'twistedly' or evasively." Table 3, F, defines two expressions that derive from the cell, *qquencu*, "twisted." González Holguín defines the two related expressions as "to sing in counterpoint." Keeping in mind the responsorial practice spoken of by the chroniclers and further documented in Table 2, B, it can be seen that the metaphor operates structurally to connect a kinetic domain with a musical one: the music likely "twisted" back and forth between leader (of historical song, for example) and chorus. Again, Andean metaphorical continuity through time is established by the fact that 20th century Andeans of Chayanta, near Potosí, Bolivia, still perform *waynos*, lively duple song-dances dating from preconquest times (Roel Pineda 1959:150), in responsorial fashion; the melody and text, begun by a soloist, are echoed by a chorus. The metaphor goes further in this case, though, in that *qquencu* refers not only to the manner of performance but also to the undulating melodic contour of the music, whether being intoned by leader, chorus, or accompanying flute.⁴

Goodenough has observed that "we learn much of a culture when we learn the system of meanings for which its linguistic forms stand" (1964:39). Zemp concurs specifically for the musical realm, stating that "in studying concepts of music the first requirement is to use the native language for the investigation" (1978:59). The metaphor-cells of 16th century Quechua, as reported by González Holguín, corroborate predominant Inca cultural themes as elaborated by the chroniclers. The cultural significance and durability through time of such Andean metaphor-cells as those surrounding the roots *huaccay*, *ayllu*, and *qquencu* argue for the

identification of metaphorical expressions as cultural essences. The Inca *cantar histórico* and its cultural ramifications in ancestral memory-retention and lamenting provide a musical case study for this identification.

NOTES

1. Stanford's study (1966) of Mixtec, Nahuatl, and Tarasco terms for song, dance, instruments, and games, found in 16th century Indian-Spanish dictionaries, provides one precedent for the present study; Stevenson's succinct examination of Quechua and Aymara organology (1968:258-261), utilizing 17th century Quechua-Spanish and Aymara-Spanish dictionaries, including the González Holguín *Vocabulario*, provides another. Especially relevant to the present writing is Stanford's concern to relate 16th century indigenous practices, as reflected in the dictionary definitions, to 20th century Mexican Indian practices (e.g., his discussion of "masewa" in 16th century Nahuatl and 20th century Mexican culture [Stanford 1966:108-109]). Utilizing Stanford's careful lexical gleanings as corroboratory evidence for detailed chronicle data pertinent to preconquest Mexican musical cultural practices, one might be able to substantiate hypothetical conclusions about these cultures vis-à-vis their music and dance customs. Stevenson calls the early Colonial Indian language dictionaries "the organologist's best friends" (1968:260). The present paper seeks to demonstrate the usefulness of these compendia, in combination with reliable chronicle ethnography, for understanding also performance practice, reasons for esteem in which certain musicians were held, and, via the metaphorical operation of certain grouped expressions, the broader issue of cultural ethos.

2. Interestingly, the 'Are'are of the Solomon Islands also make their musical instruments "cry" (Zemp 1978:59).

3. Although "musical metaphor-cells" and "music as metaphor" are not strictly the same, the first having to do with the operation of *language* in the musical realm, the second having to do with the operation of *musical gesture* as communicative symbol in the social realm, it is nevertheless noteworthy that "music as metaphor" has been discussed at length by several writers. Coker, for one, notes that the sonorous, rhythmic, or gestural configurations of music may operate as iconic and non-iconic signs for congeneric objects (i.e., *other* musical materials) or extrageneric objects (i.e., all non-musical objects, such as affective states, attitudes, concepts, value-properties, physical things and events, the character of objects) (1965:66-67). This sign-functioning is, according to Coker, centrally important to the way musical meaning is created. Congeneric musical sign-complexes act, then, as metaphors for gestures, attitudes, and other extrageneric meanings. Coker's definition of metaphor as "an icon that links two distinct objects by analogy involving qualitative and structural similarity" (ibid.:100-01) is close to Fernandez's concept of metaphor: Coker's "structural similarity" is Fernandez's "structural metaphor," and Coker's "qualitative similarity" is Fernandez's "textual metaphor." Coker's depiction of musical gestures as potential communicative symbols ("the symbolic musical gesture stands for the social act" (97); "music serves a social end . . . the purpose of music lies in its explicit external reference" (102)) echoes Blacking's dictum that music exists as a social fact, the product of shared experience (1977:17, 18). Indeed, Blacking's view that "music is a metaphorical expression of feelings and experiences in society . . ." (1974:83) bears a remarkable likeness to Coker's perspective throughout the dissertation.

4. I am indebted to Univ. of Texas at Austin Quechua instructor, Guillermo Delgado, for the insight into the contemporary *qquencu* metaphor.

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CHINESE CYCLIC TUNINGS IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Ernest G. McClain

with translations by Ming Shui Hung

Between the first century B.C. and the fifth century A.D. certain aspects of Chinese tuning theory were more than a thousand years ahead of similar developments in the West. The cycle of fifths was studied to the limit of 60 and then 360 tones, and arithmetic approximations to equal temperament were developed. The simplicity and accuracy of Chinese methods, not fully appreciated in the East, have been hidden from the West by the language barrier.

Here is a complete translation of the 60-division tuning of Ching Fang (-78 to -37) together with an analysis of his procedure. From his model, and in accordance with the instructions that survived, I reconstruct the 360-division tuning of Ch'ien Lo-chih (fl. +415 to +455), showing how simply it could have been achieved, and how it may be viewed as the natural culmination of the process Ching Fang set in motion. I then suggest how the emerging interest in temperament, accessible by a formula derived from Ching Fang, may have helped to motivate Ch'ien's extended study of the tone field. In the work of Chinese acousticians we witness a remarkable balance between theory and practice, between the pursuit of absolute perfection on the one hand, and the acceptance of common-sense simplification on the other.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Throughout history the Chinese scale has remained basically pentatonic, on the model C D E G A, with its modal variations, tuned as a sequence of falling fourths and rising fifths. The first 12 tones of the extended series gave their names to the months. In some historical periods various auxiliary tones were also recognized, and ritual transpositions coordinated the scale with the calendar (Nakaseko 1957:147-172). The sequence of fifths 2:3 and fourths 3:4 was sometimes extended to as many as $5 \times 12 = 60$ tones, or 64 tones (providing for 12 pentatonic transposi-

tions), or 84 tones (12 diatonic transpositions), and eventually, theoretically, to 360 tones. Successive dynasties established their own pitch standards and freely revised or discarded the calendrical ritual, yet maintained a strongly conservative bias. Successive tones were generated by the perfect fifths and fourths of "Pythagorean" tuning, and new pitch standards varied over the range of a musical sixth (Chuang 1963:54-55). Ritual transposition coupled with a fondness for huge orchestras of winds, strings, and tuned bells gave Chinese acoustical theory the same impetus toward a 12-tone simplification that chromatic modulations and triadic harmonies of the 17th century fostered in the West. Chinese theorists were far ahead of us in grappling with the problems of temperament, but Chinese conservatism consistently doomed every innovation, however brilliant, that threatened the purity of perfect fourths and fifths.

The oldest surviving Chinese tuning, that by Kuan-tzu for the first 5 tones (recorded ca. 3rd c. B.C.), establishes the pattern followed by later tunings. He alternately adds and subtracts $\frac{1}{3}$ of successive tone-values (pipe and/or string lengths) to produce the falling fourths and rising fifths of Pythagorean tuning (Nakaseko 1957:147-150):

schema	C	G	D	A	E
numbers	81	108	72	96	64
Chinese "solmization"	<i>kung</i>	<i>chih</i>	<i>shang</i>	<i>yü</i>	<i>chiao</i>

In the Confucian ritual tradition, the tone now known as *Huang-chung* and translated as "Yellow Bell" was tonic (*kung*) at the winter solstice in the 11th month. When *Huang-chung* is assigned the numerical value of 81, conceived as a pitch-pipe length of 8.1 inches (Chinese subdivisions normally being decimal), or as 9 inches divided into 9ths, as during the Chou dynasty, only 5 tones can be designated accurately by successive additions and subtractions of $\frac{1}{3}$ without the further use of fractions. The Kuan-tzu tuning is thus in "smallest integers." Odd-numbered tones in the tuning sequence are *yang* (male) and even-numbered tones are *yin* (female) irrespective of whether generation begins "downward," as this one does, or "upward," as later tunings do. The 3 *yang* tones in this first set (C D E) and the 2 *yin* tones (G A) show a double implication for the "male" prime number 3 and "female" prime number 2, which generate the tuning.

The complete cycle of 12 tones (*lǚ*) is first given in the *Huai Nan Tzu*, the book composed for Liu An, Prince of Huai Nan, ca. -122, both in 6-digit precise values and in 2-digit approximations whose derivation remains controversial (see Table I). The accurate designation for the cycle of 12 tones must obviously begin on $3^{11} = 177,147$ to avoid fractions.

TABLE I
Pitch Numbers in the *Huai Nan Tzu*

1.	177,147 = 81	C	Huang-chung	11th month
2.	$-\frac{1}{3} = 118,098 = 54$	G	Lin-chung	6th month
3.	$+\frac{1}{3} = 157,464 = 72$	D	T'ai-ts'ou	1st month
4.	$-\frac{1}{3} = 104,976 = 48$	A	Nan-lü	8th month
5.	$+\frac{1}{3} = 139,968 = 64$	E	Ku-hsi	3rd month
6.	$-\frac{1}{3} = 93,312 \approx 43^*$	B	Ying-chung	10th month
7.	$+\frac{1}{3} = 124,413 \approx 57$	F#	Jui-pin	5th month
8.	$+\frac{1}{3} = 165,888 \approx 76$	C#	Ta-lü	12th month
9.	$-\frac{1}{3} = 110,592 \approx 51$	G#	I-tse	7th month
10.	$+\frac{1}{3} = 147,456 \approx 68$	D#	Chia-chung	2nd month
11.	$-\frac{1}{3} = 98,304 \approx 45$	A#	Wu-yi	9th month
12.	$+\frac{1}{3} = 131,072 \approx 60$	E#	Chung-lü	4th month

*The original *Huai Nan Tzu* value of 42 was corrected to 43 by Prince Chu Tsai-yü in the + 16th c.

Ching Fang will later generate his 60 tones from this same base, his last 48 necessarily being approximations, for he also avoids fractions in his basic calculations. From our equal temperament perspective, this tuning by perfect fourths and fifths produces a spiral rather than a cycle, for there is a cumulative excess of 2 cents per interval. *Chung-lü* E#, the 12th tone in the sequence, is thus 22 cents sharp, and cannot lead to a cyclic return to C. The mean deviation for the set of 12 tones, shown below in Table V, is almost 12 cents. A remarkable feature of the accompanying 2-digit approximations, when 42 is corrected to 43 as Prince Chu Tsai-yü suggests, is that their mean deviation from equal temperament is only 7 cents (Kuttner 1975:176). The familiar Pythagorean comma of 531441:524288 between the 13th tone of such a series and the original reference tone here acquires a Chinese simplification to 81:80 (notice that 60 plus $\frac{1}{3}$ of itself gives 80), a value familiar in the West in quite a different tonal context as the "syntonic comma" (approximately 22 cents instead of 24). Two successive additions for *Jui-pin* F# and *Ta-lü* C# compress operations within an octave. Among the 2-digit numbers, the rising fifths E-B, C#-G#, and D#-A# and the falling fourth B-F# are no longer "perfect" ratios of 3:2 and 4:3 respectively. Notice that when divided by 3, the numbers 64, 43, and 76 give remainders of $\frac{1}{3}$, which are apparently dropped, while 68 gives a remainder of $\frac{2}{3}$, which is rounded off to the full unit so that $\frac{2}{3} \times 68 = 45$. What purpose these 2-digit numbers served is not clear, and there is no agreement as to how they were achieved. They prove, however, that for at least a century before Ching Fang the Chinese were accustomed to working both with precise values and with approximations. His achievement can be understood, then, as a virtuoso variation on an ancient theme.

CHING FANG

The 60-division tuning of Ching Fang (–78 to –37) and his own extensive commentary on it were recorded by Ssu-ma Piao three centuries later in the *Hou Han Shu*, the official history of the late Han dynasty (+25 to +219). Ssu-ma Piao informs us that an imperial Bureau of Music had been established by Emperor Wu (–140 to –88), who “wanted to correct the music.” Ching Fang received his appointment to the Bureau from Emperor Yüan (–48 to –33), after an examination by Hsuang Cheng, “lecturer to the heir-apparent, and a certain official Chang, who was a censor” (Fan 1965:3000). The Early Han dynastic history contains a biographical entry for Ching Fang written by Pan Ku, from whom we learn that Ching Fang was also an expert at divination, that from the hexagrams of the *I Ching* he could predict the weather—“always very accurately.” His original name, Li Fang, he changed also according to a rule of divination. At the age of 41 he was executed by order of the emperor who had appointed him—his head was chopped off in the market place—for “accusations against a high official” (Pan 1962:3160-67).

Ching Fang has an honored place in the history of acoustical theory as the first man to compute the greatly reduced comma between the 1st and 54th tones in the spiral of fifths (Barbour 1953:124). The simplicity and accuracy of his approximation technique commands attention here. His tuning is given in full in Table II, in scale order; modern tone names and the tuning order, or generation order, have been added to clarify his procedure. We do not translate his tone names; beyond the first 12 in the tuning order, associated with the months, names appear to be merely convenient labels for the operations. That the whole construction has survived in nearly perfect condition is a tribute to the quality of Chinese scholarship and to the care Ching Fang took to express results in three complementary ways: 6-digit *shih* (“substance”) numbers are accompanied by 3-digit *lŭ* (pitch-pipe) lengths, including symbols for fractional remainders, and by 2-digit *chun* (long zither) string lengths, with *exact* fractions that serve as a cross-check against copyists’ errors in the *shih* and *lŭ* numbers (Fan 1965:3003-14).

Ching Fang’s calculation is first carried out in 6 digits, as an extension of the earlier series in the *Huai Nan Tzu*—corrected to keep the approximations in tones 13 to 60 within a fraction of a cent of their true values in the spiral of fifths. These 6-digit *shih* numbers are then divided by $3^9 = 19,683$ to give pipe lengths for the *lŭ* (whose *Huang-chung* fundamental is 9 inches) and string lengths for the *chun* (whose fundamental is 9 feet), all subdivisions being decimal. The 3-digit *lŭ* numbers are practical for *both* pipes and strings. They are accurate to within 2 to 4 cents,

TABLE II
The 60-Division Tuning of Ching Fang

Scale order	Tuning order	Name	Shih (number)	Lü (pipe)	Chun (string)
1	C 1	黃鐘 Huang-chung	177,147	9 inches	9 feet
2	54	色育 Se-yü	176,776	8.98+	8.9+15,973/x*
3	13	執始 Chih-shih	174,762	8.87+++	8.8+15,516/x
4	25	丙盛 Ping-sheng	172,410	8.76-	8.7+11,679/x
5	37	分動 Fen-tung	170,089	8.64++	8.6+8,152/x
6	49	質末 Chih-mo	167,800	8.52½++	8.5+4,945/x
7	C# 8	大呂 Ta-lü	165,888	8.43--	8.4+5,508/x
8	20	分否 Fen-fou	163,654	8.31++	8.3+2,851/x
9	32	凌陰 Ling-yin	161,452	8.21--	8.2+514/x
10	44	少出 Shao-ch'u	159,280	8.09++	8+18,160/x
11	D 3	太簇 T'ai-ts'ou	157,464	8	8
12	56	未知 Wei-chih	157,134	7.98++	7.9+16,383/x
13	15	時息 Shih-hsi	155,344	7.89(+)	7.8+18,166/x
14	27	屈齊 Ch'ü-ch'i	153,253	7.79--	7.7+16,939/x
15	39	隨期 Sui-ch'i	151,190	7.68++	7.6+15,992/x
16	51	形晉 Hsing-chin	149,156	7.58--	7.5+5,335/x
17	D# 10	夾鐘 Chia-chung	147,456	7.49++	7.4+18,018/x
18	22	開時 K'ai-shih	145,470	7.39+	7.3+17,841/x
19	34	族嘉 Tsu-chia	143,513	7.29+	7.2+17,954/x
20	46	爭南 Cheng-nan	141,582	7.19++	7.1+18,327/x

Remainders: 微強+; 強++; 半強½++; 大強+++; 弱--; 微弱-
少強(+).

$$*x = 19,683 = 3^9$$

TABLE II (continued)

Scale order	Tuning order	Name	Shih (number)	Lü (pipe)	Chun (string)
21	E 5	姑洗 Ku-hsi	139,968	7.11+	7.1+2,187/x
22	58	南授 Nan-shou	139,674	7.09+++	7+18,930/x
23	17	變虞 Pien-yü	138,084	7.01½++	7+3,030/x
24	29	路時 Lu-shih	136,225	6.92+	6.9+4,123/x
25	41	形始 Hsing-shih	134,392	6.83--	6.8+5,476/x
26	53	依行 I-hsing	132,582	6.73½++	6.7+7,059/x
27	E# 12	中呂 Chung-lü	131,072	6.66--	6.6+11,642/x
28	24	南中 Nan-chung	129,308	6.57-	6.5+13,685/x
29	36	內負 Nei-fu	127,567	6.48+	6.4+15,958/x
30	48	物應 Wu-ying	125,850	6.39++	6.3+18,471/x
31	F# 7	蕤賓 Jui-pin	124,416	6.32+	6.3+4,131/x
32	60	南事 Nan-shih	124,154	6.31--	6.3+1,511/x
33	19	盛變 Sheng-pien	122,741	6.23½++	6.2+7,064/x
34	31	離宮 Li-kung	121,089	6.15+	6.1+10,227/x
35	43	制時 Chih-shih	119,460	6.07--	6+13,620/x
36	G 2	林鍾 Lin-chung	118,098	6	6
37	55	謙待 Ch'ien-tai	117,851	5.99--	5.9+17,213/x
38	14	去滅 Ch'ü-mieh	116,508	5.92--	5.9+3,783/x
39	26	安度 An-tu	114,940	5.84-	5.8+7,786/x
40	38	歸嘉 Kuei-chia	113,393	5.76+	5.7+11,999/x
41	50	否與 Fou-yü	111,867	5.68++	5.6+16,422/x

TABLE II (continued)

Scale	Tuning		Name	Shih (number)	Lü (pipe)	Chun (string)
order	order					
42	G#	9	夷則 I-tse	110,592	5.62--	5.6+3,672/x
43		21	解形 Chieh-hsing	109,103	5.54++	5.5+8,465/x
44		33	去南 Ch'ü-nan	107,635	5.46+++	5.4+13,468/x
45		45	分積 Fen-chi	106,187	5.39½++	5.3+8,671/x
46	A	4	南呂 Nan-lü	104,976	5.33++	5.3+6,561/x
47		57	白呂 Po-lü	104,756	5.32++	5.3+4,361/x
48		16	結躬 Chieh-kung	103,563	5.26++	5.2+12,114/x
49		28	歸期 Kuei-ch'i	102,169	5.19+	5.1+17,857/x
50		40	未卯 Wei-mao	100,794	5.12+	5.1+4,107/x
51		52	夷汗 I-han	99,437	5.05++	5+10,220/x
52	A#	11	無射 Wu-yi	98,304	4.99++	5.9+1,857/x
53		23	閉掩 Pi-yen	96,980	4.93--	4.9+5,333/x
54		35	鄰齊 Lin-ch'i	95,675	4.86+	4.8+11,966/x
55		47	期保 Ch'i-pao	94,388	4.79½++	4.7+18,779/x
56	B	6	應鐘 Ying-chung	93,312	4.74+	4.7+8,019/x
57		59	分鳥 Fen-wu	93,116	4.73+	4.7+6,059/x
58		18	遲內 Ch'ih-nei	92,056	4.68--	4.6+15,142/x
59		30	未育 Wei-yü	90,817	4.61(+)	4.6+2,752/x
60		42	遲時 Ch'ih-shih	89,595	4.55++	4.5+10,215/x

meaning to within .01 inches on the pipes, and to within .1 inches on the 10 times longer strings. These *lū* numbers, however, are accompanied by 7 symbols that increase accuracy by almost another decimal place, hence to within a fraction of a cent. Five symbols, translated here as +, (+), ++, ½++, and +++, indicate the relative sizes of remainders that have been dropped. Two other symbols, translated as - and --, indicate that remainders have been raised to the next larger digit. The only errors in the table are trivial ones concerning these symbols for the remainders.¹ The large fractional remainders for the 2-digit *chun* numbers are too awkward

for use on pipes or strings, but they are the essential bibliographic tool for verifying the *shih* numbers.

The main significance of the construction can be found in the first three tones of Ching Fang's scale order. *Chih-shih*, third tone in the scale but 13th in the spiral of fifths, should differ from *Huang-chung* by the Pythagorean comma of 531,441:524,288, almost 24 cents. Ching Fang's *shih* approximation is accurate to within .01 cents, and his *lū* reduction shows this to be worth about 12 parts in 900 (9.00–8.87+++). *Se-yü*, second tone in the scale but 54th in the spiral of fifths, subdivides this comma, missing *Huang-chung* by only about 1/6 as much. To express accurately this new ratio of the so-called "54-comma" requires numbers with 26 digits; we are now involved with 3^{53} and the nearest power of 2. It is here on *Se-yü* that we appreciate the power in Ching Fang's computational technique:

$$\frac{\text{Huang-chung}}{\text{Se-yü}} = \frac{3^{53}}{2^{84}} \approx \frac{\text{shih}}{177,147} = \frac{\text{lū}}{176,776} = \frac{9.00}{8.98+}$$

The *shih* approximation is accurate to within .14 cents, phenomenal by any standard, and the *lū* reduction allows us to see this as less than 2 parts in 900. The "54-comma" formed first by *Se-yü* is duplicated between the 2nd and 55th tones and by all subsequent pairs. The complete set is rounded off to 60 elements probably because of that number's hoary prestige as a basic calendrical unit. Ching Fang's table thus represents sequences of Pythagorean commas generated by successive 12th intervals in the spiral of fifths (see 1-13-25-37-49 starting from *Huang-chung*, or 8-20-32-44 from *Ta-lü*), with the last 7 tones producing "54-commas" within the first 7 Pythagorean commas. Note that each diatonic semitone (C#-D, D#-E, etc.), or Greek *leimma*, contains 4 Pythagorean commas, while each chromatic semitone (C-C#, D-D#, etc.), or Greek *apotome*, contains 5 such commas. Philolaus taught the Greeks that the Pythagorean wholetone of 9:8 spanned about 9 commas; Chinese theorists could read the same lesson in Ching Fang's table. We see at a glance exactly how the whole spiral of fifths unfolds through wholetones, semitones, and Pythagorean commas to reach near agreement with the reference tone after 53 consecutive operations—as Mersenne, Kircher, and Mercator were to learn in the 17th century (Barbour 1953:124-25).

Before analyzing Ching Fang's approximation technique, and in view of his historical importance, we translate in full the exposition that Ssuma Piao attributes to him at the time of his appointment to the Bureau of Music. Notice that Ching Fang does not claim originality. He explains the

generation process, links it to traditional *yin-yang* dualism, the calendar, the *I Ching*, and, rather vaguely, to his weather forecasting, and then concludes with a description of the instrument he built for acoustical demonstrations. Our explanations are in brackets [].

I study, under Chiao Yen-shou, a magistrate of Hsiao-huang, the method of 60 *lǚ*. For *shang* [generation upwards] to give birth to *hsia* [generation downwards], 3 gives birth to 2 [subtract $\frac{1}{2}$], and for *hsia* to give birth to *shang*, 3 gives birth to 4 [add $\frac{1}{2}$]. *Yang* generating from below produces *yin*, and *yin* generating from above produces *yang*, ending at *Chung-lǚ* to complete the 12 *lǚ*. *Chung-lǚ* [E #] generating from above produces *Chih-shih* [the first Pythagorean comma], and *Chih-shih* produces *Ch'ü-mieh* [the subsequent comma, a fifth higher]. "Up" and "down" give birth to each other and end with *Nan-shih* [a comma above Jui-pin F #] to complete the 60 *lǚ*. 12 *lǚ* develop into 60 *lǚ* just like 8 hexagrams develop into 64 hexagrams. Fu Hsi created the [Book of] *Changes* to record the beginning of the *yang-ch'i* ["male force"] and made it into a rule [*lǚ-fa*] to establish a date for the sound of the arrival of winter and of *Huang-chung* as *kung* ["do"], *T'ai-ts'ou* as *shang* ["re"], *Ku-hsi* as *chiao* ["mi"], *Lin-chung* as *chih* ["sol"], *Nan-lǚ* as *yü* ["la"], *Ying-chung* [B] as *pien-kung* [transformed *kung*, an auxiliary tone], and Jui-pin [F #] as *pien-chih* [transformed *chih*, a second auxiliary tone]. This is the origin of the sound and *ch'i* ["force"] and the correct doctrine of the 5 tones [2 of the 7 named being merely auxiliary tones]. Therefore each occupies a day; the rest of them follow in succession. Each in succession is adopted as *kung* ["tonic"] for a particular date. *Shang* and *chiao* follow the rule. *The Book of Rites* states: "5 sounds, 6 *lǚ*, and 12 pipes each in succession become *kung*." That is what I have just said. The period is divided by 60 *lǚ*. *Huang-chung* starts from the arrival of winter and appears again the following winter. This is how divination can predict *yin* and *yang* and cold or warm, wind or rain. Use this to examine different sounds and to investigate whether they are high or low. Except for the sound of trees or grass [i.e., except for the "white noise" of the wind?], everything else will be matched. This is what it means in *Yü Shu*, which says, "*lǚ* harmonizes with sound."

The bamboo pipe cannot be used for tuning [evidence of awareness of the problem of "end-correction"?] and therefore I make the *chun* to determine the number. The shape of the *chun* is like a *se* [zither], with a length of one *chang* [ten feet], and with 13 strings. Divide [the sounding length] into 9 feet to correspond with the 9 inches of the *lǚ* of *Huang-chung*. Underneath the central string mark with *ts'un* [inches] and *fen* [tenths of inches] to measure the 60 *lǚ*.

Ssu-ma Piao concludes his introduction to the Ching Fang tuning by observing that "his writing is not recorded in its entirety, therefore I sum up the outline to supplement the records in the formal dynasty history" (Fan 1965:3000-01).

How did Ching Fang achieve his remarkable accuracy? Since he began with $3^{11} = 177,147$, as in the *Huai Nan Tzu*, his first 12 tones are untroubled by fractional remainders. In the alternating addition and subtraction of thirds that follows, however, only a few numbers are evenly divisible by 3, hence there are several remainders of $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$. Reconstruction of the arithmetic shows that if Ching Fang had simply dropped *all* remainders while computing the 6-digit *shih* numbers, 32 of his 6-digit numbers would be 1 or 2 units smaller than they are—and his calculations

would still be accurate to within about .1 cents. His corrections, however they were made, improve accuracy to within about .01 cents, far beyond the limit of perception. How did he achieve such near-perfection?

I suggest that Ching Fang trusted the oscillation of addition and subtraction to balance the effects of positive and negative remainders and allow most of them to be dropped. But he closely watched the unpredictable rhythm of remainders of $\frac{2}{3}$ and made corrections at exactly 4 points, on tones numbered 23, 34, 35 and 51 in the *tuning* (not *scale*!) order. The arithmetic suggests the following rationale:

- a) 3 successive remainders of $+\frac{2}{3}$ on tones 19, 21, and 23 of the tuning order justify raising the 23rd number by 2 digits ($3 \times \frac{2}{3} = 2$), in the absence nearby of compensating subtractions.
- b) Tone 35 in the tuning order is rounded to a full digit, from a $+\frac{2}{3}$ remainder, partly because there is also a $+\frac{1}{3}$ on tone 36.
- c) At tones 34 and 51, a $-\frac{2}{3}$ is rounded to a full digit during the subtractions, again in the absence of nearby compensating additions. (The only other $-\frac{2}{3}$ in the entire set is at tone 39, balanced by $+\frac{2}{3}$ on tone 38, hence both remainders are dropped.)

The effect of Ching Fang's corrections is to let his set match the uncorrected set (with *all* fractions dropped) on tones 1 through 22, rise slightly above it until the momentary agreement at tone 34, then rise slightly above it again until—aided by a subtraction on tone 51—there is a natural convergence on tone 56. Ching Fang could have improved his accuracy very slightly by other choices of corrections, but to no purpose.² His calculations as they stand display that harmony of precision and simplicity properly called elegance.

If we reflect that 1 cent is approximately the ratio 1730:1731, we can see that Ching Fang's 6-digit numbers, approximately 100 times larger, will safeguard distinctions of about .01 cents—with optimal corrections. That is more than enough accuracy for acoustical theory. In dividing his 6-digit *shih* numbers by $3^9 = 19,683$ to produce the 3-digit *lū* lengths, Ching Fang displayed his eminently practical concerns. In denying that the pitch-pipes were accurate enough for acoustical theory, and in making demonstrations on a 9-foot string, Ching Fang proved his competence in the acoustics laboratory. But the significance of Ching Fang's work lies mainly in the *insight* later theorists could gain from it. He lays the foundation for the first Chinese effort towards equal temperament.

THE TEMPERAMENT OF HO CH'ENG-T' IEN (+370 TO +477)

The earliest numerical approximation to equal temperament is that by Ho Ch'eng-t'ien, ca. +400, possibly inspired by Ching Fang's presen-

tation of the comma as about 12 parts in 900 (see *Huang-chung* 9.00 versus *Chih-shih* 8.87+++ in Table II). By the clever device of adding one digit (meaning .01 inches) to each successive *lŭ* length, Ho Ch'eng-t'ien avoided the comma and achieved the first truly cyclic 12-tone tuning. The result is an "unequal" temperament, for his *linear* corrections ignore their own *logarithmic* implications, but the mean deviation from equal temperament of only 2.2 cents makes this "a remarkable temperament for the time when it was constructed" (Barbour 1953:55-56 and Kuttner 1975:173-6). Ho Ch'eng-t'ien's procedure is described in the *Sui Shu* (History of the Sui Dynasty), compiled in the +7th century and edited in +1024 during the T'ang dynasty (Wei 1973:389):

Ho Ch'eng-t'ien started to establish a new rule and from *Chung-lŭ* [E # , the 12th tone in the tuning order], went back to *Huang-chung*, completing the cycle of 12 *kung* [instead of arriving on *Chih-shih*, a comma higher]. The length for *Huang-chung* was 9 inches, *T'ai-ts'ou* 8.2 [not 8.00], *Lin-chung* 6.1 [not 6.00], and *Ying-chung* 4.79+ [not 4.74+]. *Chung-lŭ* gives birth from above to 177,147 [the 6-digit *shih* number for *Huang-chung*], completing the cycle of 12.

Neither Ho Ch'eng-t'ien's temperament nor those of later theorists found favor in China. The perfection of the fifth 3:2 legitimized any dynasty's link with China's glorious past when 1 was the number of heaven, 2 of earth, and 3 of man, and the musical scale was the model for an harmonious society (Needham 1956:II, 271). In such a context it was natural to search for a cyclic return in a more extended tone-field of fifths 3:2 and fourths 4:3, and Ho Ch'eng-t'ien himself pointed the way in his book *Li-fa Chih-i*, ending with an interesting accusation against Ching Fang (Wei 1973:389):

Shang [generation upwards] and *hsia* [generation downwards] give birth to each other. To subtract or add $\frac{1}{3}$ is the simple and easy method of the ancients. It is like the ancient calendar, which has $365\frac{1}{4}$ degrees for the cycle of the sky [on oracle bones from the 2nd millennium B.C.]. Later people changed the system in different ways. But Ching Fang did not realize that and by this absurd mistake made it into 60.

THE 360 DIVISION TUNING

The *Sui Shu* contains two accounts of the extension of Ching Fang's tuning from 60 to 360 tones, and we shall translate both accounts in full. The extension was first accomplished by Ch'ien Lo-chih (Wei 1973:389):

Ch'ien Lo-chih, a historian during the reign of Yŭan-chia [+424 to 453] of the Sung [in Southern Dynasties], followed the *Nan-shih* of Ching Fang with 300 more tones ending with *An-yŭn* of 4.4+ inches. Including the old tones, there are a total of 360, one for each day. Each follows the succession *kung chih* [meaning the standard pentatonic order].

The calculation was repeated in the following century by Shen Chung, described as a "scholar of the 5 [Confucian] classics," tutor for the heir-apparent, whose lectures at the court about the 3 religions (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism) were attended by 2000 Confucian-Taoist officials (Ling-hu 1974:808-11). (The texts are silent on the relationship between these two efforts.)

Ch'ien Lo-chih of the Sung followed Ching Fang's *Nan-shih* with 300 more tones. During the Liang Dynasty [+502 to 556], a doctorate, Shen Chung, in his *Chung Lū I* [Discussion on musical rules] says:

The *I Ching* has 360 *ts'e* [divining straws] to meet the number of days of a cycle [year]. This is the number for music and the calendar. *Huai Nan Tzu* says: "each *lū* gives birth to 5 sounds, 12 *lū* give birth to 60 sounds, and 6 repetitions give birth to 360 sounds to meet the number of days in a year. This number for music and the calendar reflects the way of heaven and earth." This has been the case since antiquity.

[Shen] Chung calculated the 360 *lū* with the original number in the *Huai Nan Tzu* and the method of Ching Fang.

The *Sui Shu* then names all 360 tones in scale order, in columns headed by the original 12 tones, and adds a few important interpretative comments, but omits the numbers (Wei 1973:397-401).

In Table III we convert the 360 *Sui Shu* names into numbers, arranged into similar columns (except for the reversal of right and left)—by following clues gleaned from the material translated above. Numbers are computed by alternate subtractions and additions of $\frac{1}{3}$ —"the simple and easy method of the ancients"—beginning with Ching Fang's *Nan-shih* = 124,154, 32nd in his list but 60th in his generative order. Since these 6-digit numbers are already generally accurate to within about .1 cents, we have left them uncorrected, simply dropping all fractional remainders instead of trying to compete with Ching Fang's even greater accuracy. "Step numbers" added for the first column only will reveal at a glance that the table essentially consists of Ching Fang's original sequences of Pythagorean commas (note underlined numbers), easily recognized by their tone names, each one subdivided now by consecutive 54-commas.³ Note the long column for each chromatic semitone (*apotome*), now containing 34 tone-numbers, and the shorter column for each diatonic semitone (*leimma*), containing only 27 numbers. These totals are given in the *Sui Shu*, probably to guard against copyists' errors. One additional number, the last tone-number of the set, 88,472, has been placed in the last column, giving it a total of 28 tones. This 360th number—named *An-yün*, meaning "peaceful circuit"—is the only one allowed to exceed the range of an octave from *Huang-chung*; when divided by 3^9 = 19,683, in Ching Fang's manner, it gives the *lū* value of 4.4+ inches (more precisely 4.494), exactly as we were told that Ch'ien Lo-chih discovered. *An-yün* is sharper

TABLE III
The 360-Division Octave of Ch'ien Lo-chih (reconstruction)

Step	C Huang- chung	C# Ta-lü	D T'ai- ts'ou	D# Chia- chung	E Ku-hsi	E# Chung- lü	F# Jui- pin	G Lin- chung	G# I-tse	A Nan-lü	A# Wu-yi	B Ying- chung
1	177147	165888	157464	147456	139968	131072	124416	118098	110592	104976	98304	93312
54	176776*	165538	157134	147145	139674	130796	124154	117851	110359	104756	98097	93116
107	176400	165189	156800	146834	139378	130520	123892	117600	110126	104534	97890	92919
160	176028	164840	156469	146525	139084	130245	123630	117352	109894	104313	97684	92723
213	175665	164501	156146	146224	138797	129977	123376	117110	109668	104098	97483	92532
266	175298	164157	155821	145917	138508	129704	123118	116866	109438	103881	97278	92339
319	174929	163810	155493	145609	138216	129430	122858	116620	109207	103662	97073	92144
372	174562	163464	155144	145270	137884	129138	122511	116308	108913	103353	96980	92056
425	174195	163117	154797	144923	137537	128793	122164	116013	108618	103008	96776	91862
478	173828	162770	154450	144576	137190	128446	121817	115724	108329	102613	96572	91668
531	173461	162423	154103	144229	136843	128100	121470	115383	107938	102266	96370	91476
584	173094	162076	153756	143882	136496	127753	121123	115036	107591	101924	96171	91287
637	172727	161729	153409	143535	136149	127406	120776	114689	107246	101637	95968	91095
690	172360	161382	153062	143188	135802	127059	120429	114342	106801	101286	95766	90903
743	172000	161035	152715	142841	135455	126712	120082	114095	106454	100934	95573	90625
796	171643	160688	152368	142494	135108	126365	119735	113748	105813	100413	95371	90434
849	171286	160341	152021	142147	134761	126018	119388	113401	105466	100016	95174	90246
902	170929	160000	151674	141800	134414	125671	118994	113054	105110	100102	94976	89868
955	170572	159653	151327	141453	134067	125324	118647	112707	104666	100102	94776	89679
1008	170215	159306	150980	141106	133720	124977	118300	112360	104226	100102	94576	89476
1061	169858	158959	150633	140759	133373	124630	117953	112013	103881	100102	94388	89280
1114	169501	158612	150286	140412	133026	124283	117606	111666	103534	100102	94187	89080
1167	169144	158265	150000	140065	132679	123936	117259	111319	103187	100102	93988	88931
1220	168787	157918	149653	139718	132332	123589	116912	111072	102840	100102	93794	88734
1273	168430	157571	149306	139371	131985	123242	116565	110725	102493	100102	93599	88537
1326	168073	157224	148959	139024	131638	122895	116218	110478	102146	100102	93401	88340
1379	167716	156877	148612	138677	131291	122548	115871	110131	101799	100102	93204	88143
1432	167359	156530	148265	138330	130944	122201	115524	109784	101452	100102	93007	87946
1485	167002	156183	147918	137983	130597	121854	115177	109437	101105	100102	92810	87749
1538	166645	155836	147571	137636	130250	121507	114830	109090	100758	100102	92613	87552
1591	166288	155489	147224	137289	129903	121160	114483	108743	100411	100102	92416	87355
1644	165931	155142	146877	136942	129556	120813	114136	108396	100064	100102	92219	87158
1697	165574	154795	146530	136595	129209	120466	113789	108049	99917	100102	92022	86961
1750	165217	154448	146183	136248	128862	120119	113442	107702	99720	100102	91825	86764
1803	164860	154101	145836	135901	128515	119772	113095	107355	99523	100102	91628	86567
1856	164503	153754	145489	135554	128168	119425	112748	107008	99326	100102	91431	86370
1909	164146	153407	145142	135207	127821	119078	112401	106661	99129	100102	91234	86173
1962	163789	153060	144795	134860	127474	118731	112054	106314	98932	100102	91037	85976
2015	163432	152713	144448	134513	127127	118384	111707	105967	98735	100102	90840	85779
2068	163075	152366	144101	134166	126780	118037	111360	105620	98538	100102	90643	85582
2121	162718	152019	143754	133819	126433	117690	111013	105273	98341	100102	90446	85385
2174	162361	151672	143407	133472	126086	117343	110666	104926	98144	100102	90249	85188
2227	162004	151325	143060	133125	125739	117000	110319	104579	97947	100102	90052	84991
2280	161647	150978	142713	132778	125392	116653	109972	104232	97750	100102	89855	84794
2333	161290	150631	142366	132431	125045	116306	109625	103885	97553	100102	89658	84597
2386	160933	150284	142019	132084	124698	115959	109278	103538	97356	100102	89461	84399
2439	160576	149937	141672	131737	124351	115612	108931	103191	97159	100102	89264	84202
2492	160219	149590	141325	131390	124004	115265	108584	102844	96962	100102	89067	84005
2545	159862	149243	140978	131043	123657	114918	108237	102497	96765	100102	88870	83808
2598	159505	148896	140631	130696	123310	114571	107890	102150	96568	100102	88673	83611
2651	159148	148549	140284	130349	122963	114224	107543	101803	96371	100102	88476	83414
2704	158791	148202	139937	129992	122616	113877	107196	101456	96174	100102	88279	83217
2757	158434	147855	139590	129645	122269	113530	106849	101109	95977	100102	88082	83020
2810	158077	147508	139243	129298	121922	113183	106502	100762	95780	100102	87885	82823
2863	157720	147161	138896	128951	121575	112836	106155	100415	95583	100102	87688	82626
2916	157363	146814	138549	128604	121228	112489	105808	100068	95386	100102	87491	82429
2969	157006	146467	138202	128257	120881	112142	105461	99821	95189	100102	87294	82232
3022	156649	146120	137855	127910	120534	111795	105114	99574	94992	100102	87097	82035
3075	156292	145773	137508	127563	120187	111448	104767	99327	94795	100102	86900	81838
3128	155935	145426	137161	127216	119840	111101	104420	99130	94598	100102	86703	81641
3181	155578	145079	136814	126869	119493	110754	104073	98933	94399	100102	86506	81444
3234	155221	144732	136467	126522	119146	110407	103726	98736	94202	100102	86309	81247
3287	154864	144385	136120	126175	118799	110060	103379	98539	94005	100102	86112	81050
3340	154507	144038	135773	125828	118452	109713	103032	98342	93808	100102	85915	80853
3393	154150	143691	135426	125481	118105	109366	102685	98145	93611	100102	85718	80656
3446	153793	143344	135079	125134	117758	109019	102338	97948	93414	100102	85521	80459
3499	153436	143000	134732	124787	117411	108672	101991	97751	93217	100102	85324	80262
3552	153079	142653	134385	124440	117064	108325	101644	97554	93020	100102	85127	80065
3605	152722	142306	134038	124093	116717	107978	101297	97357	92823	100102	84930	79868

*132582 generates the 53-comma at 176776 **132708 generates the 360-comma at 88472

than the octave of *Huang-chung* C = 4.5 inches by less than 2 cents, that is, by only 1/12 of the Pythagorean comma formed by *Chih-shih*, and by about half of the 54-comma formed by *Se-yü*.

Two parenthetical comments in the fifth column, for *Ku-hsi* E, call attention to the consecutive numbers that generate *Se-yü*, the first of the 54-commas, and *An-yün*, the almost perfect octave. The whole table is thus carefully presented to make clear the internal logic of the endlessly spiraling fifths, and the successive reductions of the Pythagorean comma through the 54-comma to the infinitesimal 360-comma. Since the Chinese had used a basic calendrical unit of 360 days for at least a millenium, it is easy to sympathize with Shen Chung's enthusiasm—in the +7th century—for linking this 360-division tuning to the revered *I Ching*, causing embarrassment to modern Chinese scholars less sympathetic with numerical coincidences. The whole point of the construction is missed, however, by those who only notice the coincidence with the number of days in a schematic year. From internal evidence the table was clearly intended to complete the process that the Ching Fang tuning sets in motion. Generation stops at the 360th tone not because that makes enough tones for the year, or enough for the weeks in a 5-year cycle, but because on *An-yün*, as its own literal meaning emphasizes and as the *Sui Shu* points out, we can see the cycle of fifths reaching a "near-conjunction" with the octave. The point is driven home by the reminder that *An-yün* has the *lū* value of 4.4+ inches, just beyond the octave at 4.5. The table solves a legitimate question in musical number theory: Where does the spiral of fifths come closest to the octave? The last two numbers in the last column, that for *Ying-chung* B, tell the tale: the number 88,658, generated as the 307th tone, falls just short of the octave *Huang-chung* C' = $177,147/2$, while *An-yün* at 88,472 slightly exceeds the octave, reducing the 54-comma.

Western scholars, generally unaware of Ching Fang's computational method, have mistakenly supposed that he must have kept track of *exact* fractional remainders, a moderately heroic task involving up to 27 digits, and have therefore been misled into supposing that an extension to 360 tones would have required a super-human patience with grotesque fractions. Nothing could be further from the truth. Using Ching Fang's 6-digit approximations (*without* corrections), and at the casual pace of 2 or 3 subtractions and additions per minute, the additional 300 tone-values can be computed in a couple of hours. *An-yün* at the end of this process is actually correct to within .14 cents of its absolutely perfect value—which would require calculations running to 3^{359} , a 172-digit number. If Ch'ien Lo-chih or Shen Chung used, say, two clerks doing the computations (to forestall errors) and one scribe to enter results in appropriate columns as

they were read off to him (positions are known in advance from Ching Fang's table), they could have completed the 360-division tuning before the morning tea break.

We are unwilling to stop here with this recital of facts, for further reflection on Ching Fang's tuning suggests the possibility of still another level of meaning in the extension to 360 tones.

APPROXIMATIONS TO EQUAL TEMPERAMENT

The work of Ho Ch'eng-t'ien proves that the 360-division tunings were developed within the context of a concern with temperament and with perfectly cyclic tunings—and awareness that pure fifths 3:2 and pure fourths 4:3 produce only spirals. Kuttner has shown that among the first 60 tones in the spiral of fifths there are 12 with a mean deviation from equal temperament of only 4.7 cents, and that among 360 there are 12 with a mean deviation of only .76 cents, “so close to maximum tuning accuracy by the finest craftsmen that, from a practical point of view, no improvement is possible or necessary” (1975:173). Both of Kuttner's tempered sets can be identified merely by inspecting Ching Fang's table, and the second one provides a test of the accuracy of any 12-tone approximation computed directly, like that of Ho Ch'eng-t'ien. I suggest that the following lines of thought were accessible to any of the theorists we have discussed—once their curiosity was aroused by the question of temperament.

The most important fact in Ching Fang's table is the near coincidence between *Huang-chung* and *Se-yü*, 1st and 54th respectively, in the tuning sequence. Since there is an accumulative excess of 2 cents per interval over equal temperament norms and near agreement on the 54th tone, it follows logically that the first and last 6 tones of the tuning sequence, numbers 1-6 and 48-53, will lie closest to equal temperament. None can be further than about $2 \times 6 = 12$ cents from the desired values. To locate Kuttner's 12 best choices from among Ching Fang's 60 candidates, take the first 6 (C G D A E B) as given, then take the last 6 (F# C# G# D# A# E#) *one step earlier* in his scale order. Note how this slightly lengthens string and/or pipe measures, offsetting the sharpness/shortness of the Pythagorean values (see Table II).

Now let us take an even closer look at Ching Fang's ratios. *Se-yü* at 176,776, or 8.98+ inches, the 54th tone, is *almost* 1/6 of the distance between *Huang-chung* and *Chih-shih*, the Pythagorean comma. Now the Pythagorean whole tone of 9:8 has an excess of *exactly* 1/6 of this comma; hence—it follows logically—two tuning operations before *Se-yü*, at *I-han*

= 99,437, the 52nd tone, we possess a rather good equal tempered $A^\sharp = B^\flat$, a minor-seventh above *Huang-chung* C and a wholetone (200.29 cents) below its octave C'. (It is very slightly flat because *Se-yü* is not quite $1/6$ of the comma sharp.) We can now see that successive 51st intervals in the spiral of fifths will generate the 6 descending tones of an equal tempered wholetone scale, $A^\sharp G^\sharp F^\sharp E D C$, the 6 *yang* tones. If the remaining 6 *yin* tones are generated from these in the usual manner (by adding or subtracting $1/3$ of the *yang* values), no tone can possibly be more than 2 cents sharper than in equal temperament. The slight cumulative flatness in the *yang* sequence can actually be used to offset this characteristic sharpness: for tones 2 and 53, early in the *yin* series, substitute the later tones 308 and 359, slightly flatter, hence closer to equal temperament (see Table IV). By this reasoning an acoustical theorist can identify the 12 best approximations to equal temperament from Ching Fang's table before any of them are computed. Their values, when computed, are accurate enough to serve as a standard of reference (see Table V). Since the 359th tone is $E^\sharp = F$, we know that the 360th is sharper than the octave by only the trivial excess of the pure fifth over a tempered fifth. The location of *An-yün*, then, can be understood perfectly without actually performing the last 300 calculations attributed to Ch'ien Lo-chih and Shen Chung.

CONCLUSION

Were Chinese theorists aware of all the meanings we have read from Ching Fang's table? There is no evidence either way, but he was studied intensely for centuries by competent men. At our distance in time, Ching Fang seems brilliant, but he claimed no originality ("I study, under Chiao Yen-shou, the method of 60 *Lü*"), his computational devices were foreshadowed in the *Huai Nan Tzu*, and Ho Ch'eng-t'ien did not hesitate to

TABLE IV
Equal Temperament Approximations Within the 360-Division Tuning

<i>yang</i>	tone	operation	tone	<i>yin</i>
C	1	$[-1/3]$	2	$G]^\ast$
A^\sharp	52	$[+1/3]$	53	$E^\sharp = F]^\ast\ast$
G^\sharp	103	$+1/3$	104	D^\sharp
F^\sharp	154	$+1/3$	155	C^\sharp
E	205	$-1/3$	206	B
D	256	$-1/3$	257	A
[C	307]	$-1/3$	308	G^\ast (better)
			359	$E^\sharp = F^\ast\ast$ (better)

TABLE V
Equal Temperament Approximations In Chinese Cyclic Tunings

Chinese	Western	NORM Cents	Huai Nan Tzu ca. -122 12-Division			Ching Fang -78 to -37 60-Division <i>Hou Han Shu</i>			Ch'ien Lo-chih ca. +450 360-Division Reconstruction		
			2-digit Value	Cents	Step	Value	Cents	Step	Value	Cents	Step
Huang-chung	C	0	81	0	1	177147	0	1	177147	0	
Ta-lü	C#	113.69	76	110.31	49	167800	93.85	155	167089	101.20	
T'ai-ts'ou	D	203.91	72	203.91	3	157464	203.91	256	157948	198.60	
Chia-chung	D#	317.60	68	302.86	51	149156	297.75	104	148837	301.46	
Ku-hsi	E	407.82	64	407.82	5	139968	407.82	205	140690	398.91	
Chung-lü	E#	521.51	60	519.55	53	132582	501.67	359	132708	500.03	
Jui-pin	F#	611.77	57	608.35	48	125850	591.89	154	125317	599.24	
Lin-chung	G	701.96	54	701.96	2	118098	701.96	308	118210	700.31	
I-tse	G#	815.64	51	800.91	50	111867	795.80	103	111628	799.50	
Nan-lü	A	905.87	48	905.87	4	104976	905.87	257	105299	900.55	
Wu-yi	A#	1019.55	45	1017.60	52	99437	999.71	52	99437	999.71	
Ying-chung	B	1109.78	43	1096.30	6	93312	1109.78	206	93794	1100.86	
Maximum deviation		21.51		19.55			9.79			1.46	
Total deviation		129.10		82.84			52.01			8.45	
Mean deviation ($\div 11$)		11.74		7.53			4.73			.77	

call him "absurd" for failing to follow tradition more closely. The rising fifths and falling fourths associated with subtractions and additions of $\frac{1}{3}$, "the simple and easy method of the ancients," have been documented as a basic Babylonian lyre tuning in the 2nd millenium B.C. (Kilmer 1976). In that very early period the Chinese were already casting bronze bells and cutting sonorous stones in the same tuning, and with great accuracy (Kuttner 1964). We must apparently concede the possibility that serious investigations of the extended spiral of fifths may have been carried out far earlier in history than surviving data can prove. Whatever the early historical facts, which remain elusive, our study of Chinese acoustical theory reveals the elegance of simple methods, and the great strength of a continuous tradition.⁴

APPENDIX

Further study of the 2-digit numbers in the *Huai Nan Tzu* suggests the following rationale:

42 =	14 × 3
45 =	15 × 3
48 =	16 × 3
51 =	17 × 3
54 =	18 × 3
57 =	19 × 3
60 =	20 × 3 or 15 × 4
64 =	16 × 4
68 =	17 × 4
72 =	18 × 4
76 =	19 × 4
[80 =	20 × 4 suppressed]
81 =	9 × 9 (traditional base)

With all respect to Chu Tsai-yü's intention, he was probably historically wrong to correct 42 to 43. The virtue of the *Huai Nan Tzu* series is partly that it succeeds in approximating an equal-tempered chromatic scale by simple arithmetic progressions, semitones of 14:15:16:17 being oversize, and 17:18:19:20 being under-size. The Prince's improvement mars the elegant and simple pattern of the original, for the number 43 does not fit this scheme.

NOTES

1. It is easy to discover the exact value of the remainders of the 3-digit *lū* numbers by carrying out the division by 19,683 two more decimal places, but it is not clear what values Ching Fang's 7 symbols for the remainders are intended to represent because errors have intruded, thus making categories overlap. I suggest the following:

Symbol	Tones	Meaning	Comments
+	14	.0006 to .0020	Should possibly stop at .0015, with tone 34 changed to (+).

(+)	2	.0023 to .0040	Should possibly be .0019 to .0026, with tone 59 changed to ++
++	16	.0012 to .0045	Should probably start at .0030, with tones 5, 15, 17, and 48 changed to + and tones 10, 47, 51, and 60 changed to (+). This set is most erratic.
½++	6	.0049 to .0059	Probably correct.
+++	3	.0062 to .0088	Overlaps next category.
--	13	.0062 to .0092	Tone 9, with a remainder of .0026, should be changed to (+).
-	3	.0093 to .0096	Probably correct

There is probably little point in actually making these hair-splitting corrections. The modern editor of the *Hou Han Shu* reports many variants in the *lǚ* modifiers and *chun* remainders in his various sources, and makes many corrections. He also reports the following variants among the *shih* numbers (Fan 1965:3017-24):

22	<i>Nan-shou</i>	139,670	45	<i>Fen-chi</i>	106,188
43	<i>Chieh-hsing</i>	119,103	57	<i>Fen-wu</i>	93,117

2. Courant suggests that there are 8 errors among the 6-digit *shih* numbers in Ching Fang's table, but Courant himself computed these numbers by carrying exact fractions to the very end, although these ran to 21 digits (1924:88). Such a grotesque procedure misses the whole point of Ching Fang's elegance, burying Chinese common sense and affection for simplicity under our modern passion for absolute perfection, however irrelevant that may be. Courant succeeded in making the 360 division tuning seem impossibly difficult, supposing that exact fractions would similarly be carried to the end. My own study was inspired by Kuttner's personal conviction that the Chinese "devised some efficient method of cutting decimals without sacrificing accuracy," and owes much to his data and personal advice (1975:173). If Ching Fang had made his first correction earlier and also had made another near the end he could have improved a few values *very* slightly—but to no purpose.

3. The 360-comma at *An-yün* = 88,472 has the value of 1.8453 cents *above* the octave of *Huang-chung*, while the 307-comma has the value of 1.77 cents *below* it. Whereas the 307-comma falls short of a cyclic repetition, the 360-comma reduces the 54-comma. (Proof: $An-yün\ 88,472 \times 2 = 176,944$, slightly larger than $Se-yü = 176,776$, but smaller than *Huang-chung*.) Modern Chinese studies of the 360-division tuning project *An-yün* into the wrong octave, thus missing its significance, and also ignore the interesting question as to how the calculations were made (Liu 1948:332-366).

4. Edith Borroff, Fred Fisher and F. Joseph Smith directed my attention to various problematic aspects of the 360-division tuning, and my wife, Augusta, helped with translations and calculations.

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THE MATHEMATICS OF TIBETAN *ROL MO*

Ter Ellingson

Rol mo (pronounced "rōmo"), the music of the Tibetan Buddhist monastery instrumental ensemble, is a classical tradition that can be traced back through more than a thousand years of Tibetan history to even older roots in Indian Buddhist music.¹ Transmitted and elaborated by lineages of carefully trained and selected professional leader-directors (*dbu mdzad*, "umdze"), it had developed by the middle of the 20th century into a vast repertoire of named and notated compositions. Many of the hundreds of pieces that once existed are still played today in the Tibetan refugee monasteries of India and Nepal.

Yet, *rol mo* remains a strangely unexplored form of musical art. Some Western writers deny altogether that much of it is music, claiming rather that it is "magical sound" created for (usually unspecified) "ritual reasons." Tibetan musicians and educated listeners, with detailed standards of musical esthetics used to support their judgments, reject such ethnocentric speculations. *Rol mo* is indeed performed in a ritual context, in order to make a sensually pleasing offering (*mchod pa*) to the Buddhist "gods" (Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Protectors, *Yi dam*). For precisely this reason, it must be both skillfully executed (*mkhas pa*) and aurally pleasant (*snyan pa*). If such considerations suggest an "esthetic of the alien," designed to please the ears of gods rather than of men, it must be remembered that the "gods" themselves are visualized by Tibetans as idealized representations of human qualities. *Rol mo* esthetics simply represent human esthetics in an extreme form. Music appropriate to such an esthetic will have both extremely heightened emotional effect and extremely elaborated formal structures, to please the emotional and cognitive faculties of its idealized audience.

This paper focuses on the latter aspect, that of the extreme elaboration of formal structure in *rol mo*. We will deal with one aspect of this subject: the complex mathematical organization of rhythmic structures. If it is possible to generalize about rhythmic structure in different world musical systems, we might say that most music is rhythmically organized in one of two ways: 1) cyclically, with groups of a specific number of beats recurring in regular cycles (Western measures, Indian *tāla*, Java-

nese *gongan*); or 2) irregularly, with either unequal beats or groups of varying numbers of equal beats, either of which are combined in musically unpredictable sequences (operatic recitative, Vedic and Thai Buddhist prose chant, etc.). *Rol mo* rhythmic structure, by contrast, is usually neither cyclic nor irregular. Although the lengths of both individual beats and beat groups vary, they are organized into sequences that can attain degrees of mathematical complexity unknown in other music.

Although the organizational principles discussed here seem to apply (with some changes in terminology) to other Tibetan *rol mo* performing traditions, the pieces and specific terminology² described belong to Swayambhu Kargyud Monastery (formally, *bShad grub Chos 'khor Dar rgyas gling*), Swayambhu, Nepal, following the performing tradition of *Nang chen Dil yag*, a monastery of the *Kar ma* sublineage of the *Dvags po* branch of the *bKa' brgyud* Method of Tibetan Buddhism. The only stylistic peculiarity of this tradition relevant to this discussion is that specific pieces are assigned to the repertoires of either *sil snyan* or *sbub 'chal* cymbals (see below), while other traditions use both cymbal types together in the same piece.

BEATS, COUNTS, FALLS

The structural outline of a *rol mo* piece is furnished by the cymbals, played by the ritual and musical leader/director (*dbu mdzad*).³ The cymbals may be either the shallow conical small-bossed *sil snyan*, or the slightly-flattened hemispherical large-bossed *sbub 'chal*. Double-skinned frame drums (*rnga*) of various types reinforce the structural outline by playing a simplified version of the cymbal part. Although a *rol mo* piece can be played as a cymbal solo, a skilled performer will, whenever possible, even in solo performance provide his own drum "doubling" of the cymbal part.

Cymbals are held and played in various ways, depending on the performing tradition. Whatever method is used, they must be loosely balanced in the player's hands to allow both a fine degree of control and a free oscillation along one diameter of their striking surfaces. The player holds them close to one another, planes parallel, and uses a short, fast diagonal stroke to bring a point on the rim of one into contact with a point on the rim of the other. As the player holds them loosely in close parallel position, they rebound from the initial point of contact (0°) to strike together at diametrically opposite (180°) points on their rims. Successive rebounds produce a series of pulses that both accelerate and decrease in volume, as gravity and inertia exhaust the force of the original stroke and

bring the cymbals to rest. When the accelerating and diminishing pulses have blended together into an indistinct hum, the player separates the cymbals and allows the sound to fade out. This entire sequence, from initial stroke through accelerating pulses to concluding hum, constitutes a "beat" (*brdung*, "dung").





The beat thus consists of a series of pulses that decrease steadily in intensity and increase steadily in tempo. Its length and loudness are a product of 3 factors: the kinetic energy or strength (*shugs*) of the initial stroke, the potential energy or "rebound" (*'phar*) of the cymbals, and the cymbals' physical dimensions (*tshad*) of size and mass. Whatever its quantitative value, a beat always has the internal structural pattern of regularly accelerating pulses, producing an acoustical pattern whose closest visual analog is the diminishing line patterns of a logarithmic graph. The "logarhythmic" structure is one of the most basic elements of *rol mo* organization.

Because beats are composed of accelerating, unequal pulses, they can not be subdivided into equal units. However, the "logarhythmic" structure found in the beat may be converted to structural units of other kinds by fragmentation, serialization, or expansion:

A) Fragmentation omits part of the initial stroke/accelerating pulses/final hum sequence. The two forms most frequently played are *mtshams rgyag*, "touching rims," in which the player separates the cymbals immediately after the initial stroke, and *kha rgyag*, "touching mouths," in which he separates them before the accelerating pulses blend together into the final hum. Both are normally used as transitional signals, not as part of a *rol mo* piece (in transitions from vocal to *rol mo* pieces, the player may play *mtshams rgyag* as a short but complete beat). Other fragmented beats include the muted single strokes and "clicks" (made by striking one cymbal with a ring, rosary, or some other object) used to accompany *dbyangs* chant.⁴ Although fragmented beats may, like regular beats, be serialized or expanded, they are normally used for special purposes and not included in *rol mo* pieces.

B) Serialization produces grouped sequences of numbered beats, or "counts" (*grangs*). "Counts" may range from "1 beat" (*brdung gcig*), "2 beats" (*brdung gnyis*), etc., up to and beyond the 180-beat group found in "Invitation to Mahākāla" (p. 235 below). The beats of such a group are often of nearly equal length; but beginning and final beats may be 2 or more times as long as some of the intermediate beats (Fig. 1B). When *grangs* series of the same number of beats follow one another, the effect produced is that of a repeating beat cycle. Although such effects sometimes occur (for example, in some dance pieces), it is more typical for the numbers of beats in succeeding groups to differ from one another.

A: Modified Tibetan notation symbols

Counted "beats": 1 $\frac{2}{1}$ 3 etc. Accelerating "fall": 
 Clockwise "circle":  Counterclockwise "circle": 
 Intermediate strokes within beat:  Body turns: \rightarrow (R), \leftarrow (L)
 Loud/soft contrasts: $\underline{1}$ 1, $\overset{\cdot}{1}$ $\underset{\cdot}{1}$, 1 $\underset{\cdot}{1}$

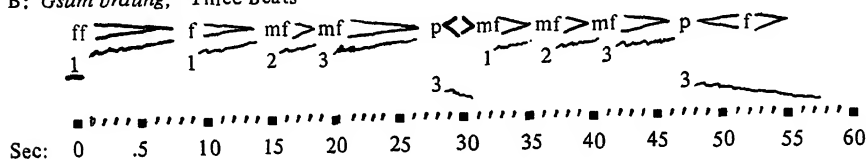
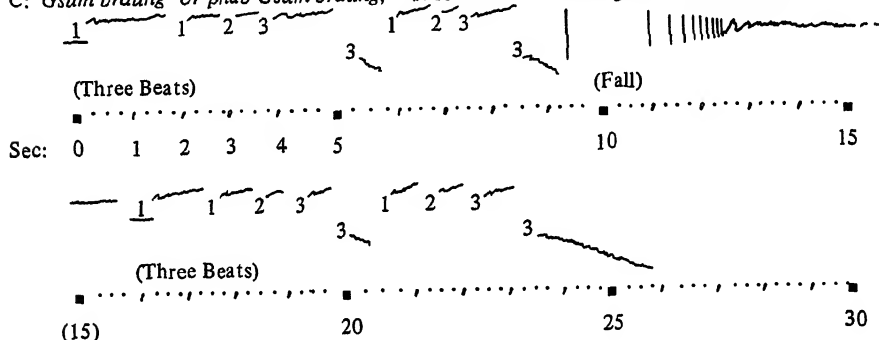
B: *Gsum brdung*, "Three Beats"C: *Gsum brdung* 'Ur phab *Gsum brdung*, "Three Beats-Humming Fall-Three Beats"

Figure 1. Notation Symbols With Examples of Short Pieces.

Serialized beat groups often include "afterbeats" (*'dzag*). These are counted as part of the preceding beat; but, rather than being subdivisions of it, they are added to it. They are usually shorter and softer than the preceding "main" beat, but in final position in a series may actually be louder and longer. In such cases, they can be recognized by their internal dynamic structure: rather than beginning loudly and ending softly like a regular beat, they begin softly, grow louder as the pulses accelerate, and become softer as the ending is reached (Fig. 1C).

C) Expansion prolongs the normal "logarithmic" acceleration of pulses following the initial stroke. This is achieved in two ways: by moving the cymbals apart at selected intervals to produce "spacing" in the normal acceleration sequence, and by adding deliberate intermediate strokes (*thang thang*) to prolong the series. For an oversimplified ex-

ample, if the normal intervals between pulses following the initial stroke were 1 sec., $\frac{1}{2}$ sec., $\frac{1}{4}$ sec., etc., interruptions and intermediate strokes would produce the series 4 sec., 2 sec., 1 sec., $\frac{1}{2}$ sec., etc.

A certain amount of expansion is used to produce length contrasts in regular beats. However, expanded patterns may reach such extremes of length that they contrast markedly with regular beats and can no longer be mistaken for them. Such expanded accelerating patterns are called *phab*, "fall." Although a quickly-played fall may be shorter than a slow beat, falls can be distinguished by their accompanying drumstrokes on every pulse of the acceleration, rather than just on the initial stroke as in a regular beat. "Large Falls" (*phab chen*) can be elaborated in various ways: for example, by accelerating 3-beat sequences instead of single beats, or by playing sequences of accelerating patterns, each faster than the one before, to produce an acceleration of accelerations (p. 239 below).

One form of expanded beat that calls for special mention is the "circle" (*'khor*), played on the shallow-conical *sil snyan* cymbals. The cymbals are played with their planes vertical for the initial stroke, held at half-arm's-length in front of the player's chest. In the initial stroke, the cymbals come into contact at about the 6 o'clock point on their rims (bottom) and rebound to strike at their 12 o'clock points (top). The player continues the accelerating-pulse series by striking the right cymbal at about 1-to-2 o'clock on the left cymbal; and, holding the left cymbal stationary, he plays an accelerating pattern of pulses as he moves the right cymbal clockwise around the rim of the left. As he does this, he rotates the right cymbal until, as it finally reaches the 3 o'clock point on the left cymbal rim, it has changed from vertical to horizontal position with its face no longer directed leftwards, but upwards. As he moves the cymbals clockwise from parallel to perpendicular position, the player finishes out his accelerating-pulse series by lightly rubbing (rather than striking) the two cymbals' rims together in a continuous frictional "bowstroke" that produces an unbroken ringing sound. This "circle" begins the piece "Invitation to Mahākāla" (p. 235 below). If the player then reverses the circle and executes a counterclockwise "bowstroke" to return the cymbals to parallel vertical position, we have a "double circle" (*'khor gnyis*). The double circle and an even more elaborate version are found in "Days of the Waxing Moon" (p. 233 below).

NOTATION

Since traditional Tibetan *rol mo* notation provides an extremely clear picture of piece structure, we will use it in the following examples, with

the slight modification of substituting Arabic for Tibetan numerals. Thus, a 3-beat series of "counts" will be indicated by:

1 2 3

A fall, or prolonged acceleration, will be indicated by:

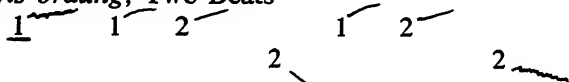


A musically significant feature in the organization of count series and fall accelerations into *rol mo* pieces is *rol ldan*, cymbal "holding" or manipulation. Both the loudness and length of a beat depend on the energy (*shugs*) of the initial stroke. Contrasts in strength are indicated by contrasts in notation size, position, and "flags." We will indicate size contrasts by underlining: 1 (large, strong)/1 (small, weaker). Strong/weak contrasts, at least for the initial strokes of beats, can also be indicated by high/low position contrasts (1 1), and by contrasts in the upward/downward directions of "flags" attached to beat symbols (1[↗] 1_↘). Because beat strength is a variable acting upon fixed physical characteristics of a pair of cymbals, contrasts in strength imply contrasts in length and "voice" (*skad*, tone color/overtone configuration). Modification of the basic beat structure is shown by zigzags in the attached "flags" (1^{↗↘}), indicating the use of intermediate (*thang thang*) strokes. The number of zigzags is a *relative* indication of the number of intermediate strokes (Fig. 1A).

COMPONENT PIECES

The simplest *rol mo* pieces may be used as brief instrumental interludes between vocal sections in a ritual, or used as component sections of larger compositions. One of the simplest forms used is a short 2-part symmetrical arrangement of counted beats. A common example is *Gnyis brdung*, "Two Beats"—capitalized here to distinguish it from *brdung gnyis*, "two beats," which actually means a series of 2 beats (p. 227). *Gnyis brdung*, "Two Beats," by contrast means a short form whose *primary* structural organization consists of a repeated set of 2 beats:

Gnyis brdung, Two Beats



Forms of this type consist of: A) an introductory loud, long beat (1); B) a group of counted beats (1[↗] 2[↗]), played twice through;

and C) a 'dzag afterbeat added to the last beat of each count group (). The final 'dzag of each piece is played as a *bzhag rol* cadence,

2 ~

the player drawing out the accelerating pulses as he rotates the cymbals in parallel position and eventually settles them into his lap just as the sound dies out.

Such forms may be built around any number of counted beats, although those based on 2-to-5 beat groups are by far the most common. Perhaps the most frequently played form of this type is *Gsum brdung*, "Three Beats." In Figure 1B time and dynamic indications are added to clarify important acoustical features of the Tibetan "beat."⁵ The dynamic patterns seen in this example seem to hold true generally in other *rol mo*: initial beats tend to be louder, and 'dzag afterbeats much softer than the average main beat. If, as in this example, the piece is played slowly enough to allow some elaboration on the basic beat pattern, the afterbeats will include a crescendo and decrescendo after the soft beginning.

However, the main feature to note here is time organization. Although the symmetrical regularity of the piece's beat structure might suggest equally-proportioned time units to Western eyes, in fact, only 3 beats (2 in the first group, 1 and 2 in the second) share an approximately equal duration in the 4-to-4.5 second range. Since initial, final, and 'dzag beats are characteristically prolonged in *rol mo* pieces, we have time values for initial and cadential ('dzag) beats more than twice as long as the "standard" main-sequence beats (8.5 and 9 seconds respectively). Moreover, if we follow the Tibetan concept of beat organization by counting the afterbeat as part of the preceding beat, we would have a duration of 15.5 seconds for the third beat of the second group—nearly 4 times that of the preceding 2 beats.

Thus we see that time organization in Tibetan music involves structuring units of time by ordered sequences of musical events (beats). In cyclically-organized music, by contrast, uniformly-structured units of time (cycles) provide the structural framework for organizing musical events. In the Tibetan system, time is not a mechanical, metronomically regular unit of measure that continues on an abstract level regardless of the presence or absence of any musical sound. Rather, time is a product of perceptual experience, meaningful only in the presence of perceived events with concrete durations. Thus, there is no symbol for a "rest" in Tibetan musical notation. Parts of instruments that play only in certain sections of a piece and are silent in others are coordinated to the ensemble not by reference to their place in an abstract time scale, but rather by their occurrence "together with" specified events in the parts of other instruments. Time is organized experientially rather than mechanically.

Experiential, event-centered time organization has been noted in the cognitive systems of non-Western peoples (Pocock 1967:305 ff.), and it occurs musically in the non-cyclical, prose-text vocal forms cited above (p. 226). However, it seems unusual for a culture that utilizes patterned numerical beat organization not to organize musical time into equally proportioned cycles. In the Tibetan case, this is particularly remarkable when we consider that Indo-Tibetan Buddhist theory of cosmic, calendric, and personal-experiential duration rest on a basic foundation of time conceived as a cycle: in fact, one of the most important Tibetan Buddhist texts is called *Kālacakra*, "Cycle [or Wheel] of Time." On the other hand, Tibetan texts contain detailed explanations of certain Indian musical concepts, and we must assume that such a basic concept as *tāla* cycles was a part of the Indian musical theory known to, but deliberately not used by, Tibetan musicians. There seems to be a plausible reason for the rejection of cyclic time organization in *rol mo* in the fact that *rol mo* is played for an audience of Buddhas—for Buddhas, unlike the ordinary beings trapped within cycles of life and death, joy and suffering, are uniquely able to transcend the cyclic nature of time by their superior understanding of the structure of experiential reality.

Whatever the esthetic and symbolic causes, the fact remains that *rol mo* rhythmic organization characteristically restructures "normal" time/event relationships into new forms. In a large-scale "Fall" acceleration, the first few pulses may be so slow as to leave the hearer in doubt that a coherent musical sequence is being played, and the final sequence of pulses at the end of the acceleration so fast as to defy perception of rhythmic structure.⁶ The inclusion of time units in the middle of the sequence that approximate the length of normal beats serves to heighten the contrast between slow beginning and fast ending: the slow beginning transcends normal human event-perception, as does the fast ending. When such an acceleration is juxtaposed with sequences of even approximately equal beats, the effect of a complete transformation of perceived time values is overwhelming.

Another frequently played class of short, component-type pieces is built on just such a juxtaposition of beats and falls. This class has a symmetrical 3-part A-B-A form, consisting of one of the short "Three Beats"-type pieces discussed above, a fall-acceleration, and a repeat of the first section. In the example of Figure 1C I have again added an elapsed-time scale.⁵


In a performance this fast, there is less opportunity for ornamental elaboration and lengthening of the individual beats; thus, they tend to be of relatively equal length. The change from beats to acceleration interrupts and transforms the time structure established by the first beat

series. The transformation is from perceivable and recognizable time units into a continuously shifting sequence of events (accelerating pulses) that finally leads into an infinite dimension—in the sense that discrete events and their durations can no longer be perceived or recognized. If we were to imagine a perceptually similar transformation in Western music, we might, for example, think of a piece that establishes a specific tonality and then proceeds to modulate rapidly through successively more distant major and minor keys, bitonal and multitonal pitch combinations, and finally ends in complete atonality—after which the original key is suddenly reintroduced. Similarly, this example returns abruptly to a finite, recognizable structure with the reintroduction of the “Three Beats” motif.

“DAYS OF THE WAXING MOON”

In contrast to the short component-type pieces we have been discussing up to now, there is a large class of much longer *rol mo* compositions that have individual names and more complex, unique rhythmic structures, occur in the context of only one specific ritual, and must be played on only one of the two types of cymbals (p. 226 above). The structure of these longer compositions may be so complex as to give the impression that they are through-composed and structurally unpredictable. Some pieces, however, reveal structures based on one or more complex mathematical formulas. These mathematical structures may be abstract or may have a specific symbolic referent.

An example of the latter type of piece is *Zla ba Yar tshes*, “Days of the Waxing Moon,” played on the day before the new moon. This is program music based on a sequence of beat groups that increase by twos from 1 to 15. The changing beat groups represent the progression from the 1st (new moon) to the 15th day (full moon) of the lunar calendar; while the lengthening beat groups depict the filling out of the moon.

Each of these beat groups ends with a double *'khor* (clockwise/counterclockwise circular cymbal stroke; p. 229 above), notated by the symbol . After the *'khor* the player turns ninety degrees to the right and plays four beats, then to the left for four more beats, and then back to the center to begin the next odd-numbered pictorial beat series. The turns, which we will indicate by right and left arrows, provide both a visually decorative element and a change in cymbal tone color to a listener standing in a fixed position.

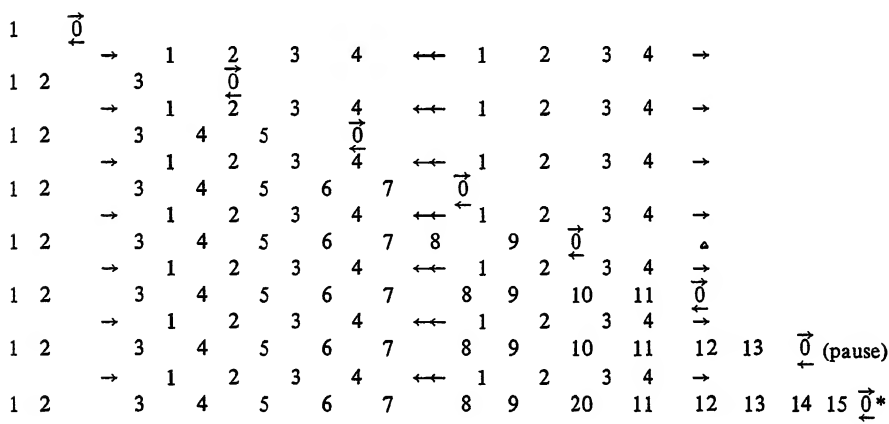
“Days of the Waxing Moon” is the conclusion of the new moon ritual *Sdang ba rNam sreg* addressed to the Protector Mahākāla. In addition to

two *dung chen* long trumpets, two *dung dkar* conch trumpets, and two *rgya gling* double reeds (none of whose parts will be discussed here), it calls for as many drums and *sil snyan* cymbals as the monastery has available. In the recorded performance discussed here, 4 pairs of cymbals and 6 drums are used (Fig. 2).

Beat durations are extremely regular in this piece, averaging about 2 seconds per beat, or about 30 beats per minute. Of course, as in most *rol mo* pieces, the beats that end each group are prolonged to 2 or 3 times the length of the other beats in the group; while the special cadential figure on the last beat (see note accompanying Fig. 2) lasts about 20 seconds.

The structural core of this piece is the series of beat groups expanding from 1 to 15. This can be represented by the mathematical sequence formula 1, 3, 5, . . . 15., but inclusion of the 4-right and 4-left beat series, and the fact that the piece begins and ends with odd-numbered beat groups ending with the double circular strokes, produces a more complex mathematical structure. One of the simpler ways of representing this structure is to factor out a 2 from the odd-numbered groups (since they

Structure: : 1+2(circle), 4_R, 4_L, 2(1:/, 2:/, 3:/, . . . 7:/), Coda



*This piece ends with the special cadence *Zla ba Yar tshes bzahag rol*. As the player begins the accelerating pulse series of the final beat he rotates the cymbals, rims touching, until they rest horizontally on his extended hands, both facing upward. Still keeping rims in contact, he brings them up to rest facing outward at 45-degree angles from the sides of his forehead, in the position of a pair of antlers. Finally he separates them and muffles their sound by pressing them against his chest, one beside the other.

Figure 2. *Zla ba Yar tshes*, "Days of the Waxing Moon"

increase by twos) and to combine mathematical notation with musical repeat signs (/: :/) to give the following structural formula:

/: 1+2(circle), 4_R, 4_L, 2(1:/, 2:/, 3:/, . . . 7:/.), Coda

The "Coda" is the final beat specially prolonged into the complex cymbal manipulations of *Zla ba yar tshes bzhaḡ rol* (Fig. 2, note). The formula should be read: "Play 1 beat with a double circle, 4 beats right, 4 left, then 2 and (repeat) 1 with double circle, 4 right, 4 left, then 4 (2 × 2) and 1 with double circle, 4 right, 4 left, then 6 . . . etc., up to 14 (2 × 7), ending with the Coda (the special 15th-beat cadence)."

"Days of the Waxing Moon" thus embodies quite a complex mathematical structure. This mathematical complexity might appear to be a more or less accidental consequence of the composition's programmatic, pictorial nature and of the musical means chosen to express its visual imagery. However, in the next piece to be discussed, we will encounter similar mathematical sequences without any symbolic referent, which seem to be used purely for their mathematical structure and acoustic-structural effect.

"INVITATION TO MAHĀKĀLA"

Mgon po spyan 'dren, "Invitation to Mahākāla," belongs to a class of compositions called *spyan 'dren*, "Invitation," typically among the longest and most elaborate pieces in the rituals in which they are included. This piece is the longest instrumental composition in the ritual *Sdang ba rnam sreg* (p. 233 above). In the performance discussed here, it lasts 17 minutes, and employs 2 pair of *sil snyan* cymbals and 8 drums. Instruments whose parts are not discussed here include 6 *dril bu* bells (all played in the first section, and only 1 in the last section), 1 *ḡa ma ru* hourglass drum (last section), 2 *rkang gling* short trumpets (first and last sections), and 2 *dung chen* long trumpets.

"Invitation to Mahākāla" consists of 3 sections: A) "Chönjung Nöma," based on the standard geometrical construction for a hexagram inscribed in a circle; B) a long middle section, omitted in short performances of the ritual, based on two mathematical sequences: 180, 170, 160, . . . 15., and 10, 9, 8, . . . 1. C) a long and a short fall-acceleration, followed by "Three Beats" (p. 228 above).

A) "Chönjung Nöma," the first section, consists of a clockwise *'khor* circular stroke of the right cymbal against the rim of the left, followed by 3 slow beats, the first 2 including equally slow afterbeats, and 4 single

pulses. The way in which these beats and pulses are played represents a geometrical construction, drawn by the right cymbal upon the face of the left. Figure 3 shows the placement of strokes on the face of the left cymbal. The steps of the geometric construction are given in parentheses following the description of the cymbal strokes.

'*Khor*: following the initial impact of the cymbals, the player accelerates pulses while striking one point on the rim of the right cymbal against the rim of the left, completing a clockwise circle around the left cymbal rim, and rotating the right cymbal so that it completes the circle in perpendicular relation to the vertical left cymbal, horizontal and face upwards. The cymbals remain in this relationship for the rest of the first section. (Construct a circle.)

Beat 1: The player strikes the horizontal right cymbal against the center of the vertical left cymbal, and plays a long accelerating pattern while moving the right cymbal down to the lower rim of the left cymbal. (Construct a radius.)

Afterbeat: The player plays a long acceleration beginning at 10 o'clock on the left cymbal rim and extending to the intersection of the Beat 1 radius on the lower rim. (Construct a chord at a 60° angle to 1, subtending an arc of 120°. There are several standard construction methods when radius 1 is known.)

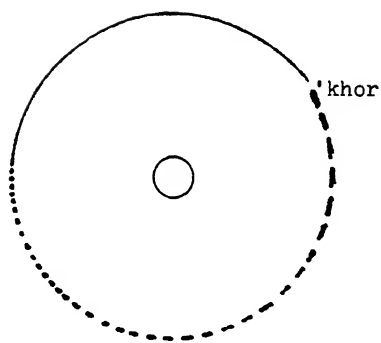
Beat 2: Beginning at 12 o'clock on the left cymbal, the player executes an acceleration extending to 4 o'clock. (Construct a chord parallel and equal to 1a. Again, several methods can be used.)

Afterbeat: An acceleration from 2 o'clock to 6 o'clock. (Construct a chord intersecting the intersection of 1 and 1a, equal to 1a.)

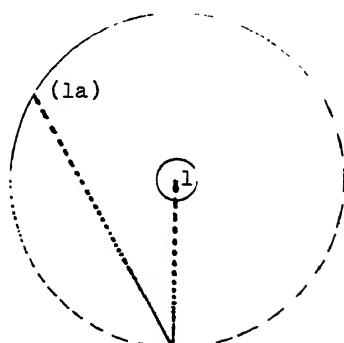
Beat 3: An acceleration from 12 o'clock to 8 o'clock. (Construct a chord parallel and equal to 2a.)

Pulses: The player sounds single pulses at the points represented by the Sanskrit syllables *Dza*, *Hūṃ*, *Baṃ*, and *Ho* on the left cymbal's rim, moving horizontally between the already-marked points of 2 and 10 o'clock and 4 and 8 o'clock, respectively. (Connect chord 2a with 1a, and 2 with 3.)

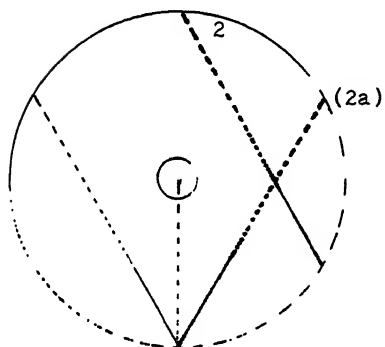
The geometric figure produced in this section is a *maṇḍala*, a ritual diagram used in Buddhism and Hinduism to create a structural, diagrammatic "map" of various levels of reality, from the cosmic to the personal. Interpretations of general cognitive and symbolic aspects of the mandala in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism can be found in Tucci (1970) and Ellingson (1974). In this particular case, the mandala is considered to be symbolically attractive to the "god" Mahākāla, and so effective in "inviting" his presence. The symbolism is so important here that the 4 final syllable-pulses are placed on the diagram in reverse position to their



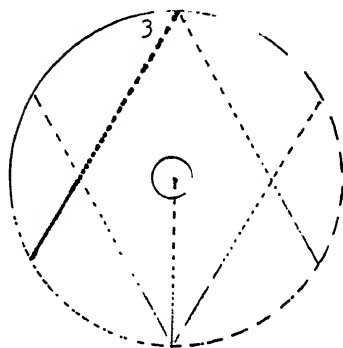
(a) Circle ('khor)



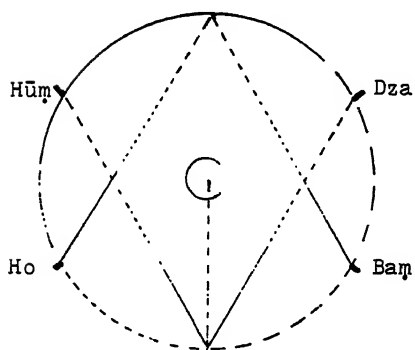
(b) Beat 1 and afterbeat



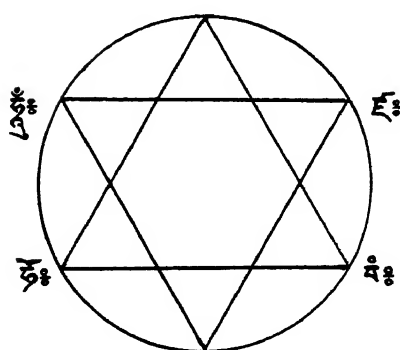
(c) Beat 2 and afterbeat



(d) Beat 3



(e) Dza, Hūm, Baṃ, Ho



(f) Completed mandala

Figure 3. "Chönjung Nöma" (Notation 2): Beat Sequence.

normal order (right-to-left instead of left-to-right), "so they'll look right to him (Mahākāla) as he comes towards you."

This transformation of visual into musical symbolism is in accord with the general esthetic orientation of *rol mo*. In the sense that *rol mo* is a structured representation of the specific natures of the particular "gods" for whom it is played, it can be called a "Mandala of Sound" (*Gsung gi dkyil 'khor*), or a "sonorous ikon" (Lhalungpa 1969:6). The diagram played here is simply a very specific case of a general esthetic principle. The use of the cymbals to "voice" the 4 ritual syllables (mantras) at the end is similarly a specific case of the general symbolic and communicative-meditational functions of *rol mo*. In some *rol mo*, instrumental sounding of syllables is so elaborate as to constitute a special form of an "instrument language" (Ellingson n.d.).

However important the symbolism here, we should note that again the musical sounds are organized in a strict mathematical structure. The "radius" formed by beat 1 would be superfluous in the completed structure if this piece were simply organized by pictorial symbolism rather than by mathematical rules.

It should also be emphasized that the changing beat positions create an acoustical as well as a pictorial effect, since different positions on the cymbal surface have different sound qualities. These differences would of course be audible to the perfected perceptual and cognitive faculties of a Buddha; but even a sufficiently nearby human observer will have little difficulty in distinguishing the differences in duration of sound and partial spectrum of a stroke at the cymbal's center from one on its rim.

B) The middle section of the piece, omitted in short performances of the ritual, is by far the longest, lasting slightly more than 13 minutes. It consists of 2 regularly decreasing sequences of beat groups.

The first sequence begins with a group of 180 beats. These are played without letting the cymbals complete their normal accelerating pulse pattern after the initial stroke, and without drum accompaniment, a style often heard in another class of compositions called *Mchod rol*. The first beat lasts about 2 seconds, the second, about a second; by about the 10th beat, a uniform rate of about 140/minute is reached. The tempo accelerates very slightly after this point. Beat 180 is played with prolonged accelerating pulses, and is followed by an equally prolonged afterbeat with accompanying drumstroke.

The next group consists of 170 beats, and ends with the prolonged beat-afterbeat combination. Beat groups continue to decrease regularly by tens, until finally a 15-beat group is reached. At this point, the tempo is 180 beats/minute.

With a sudden shift to a tempo of 120 beats/minute, the performers

play a group of 10 beats, again ending with the prolonged final beat-afterbeat combination. There follows a series of 9 beats, then 8, then 7, and so on down to 1. The 1-beat "group" or unit is actually played as the first part of the compound Fall acceleration that begins the last section.

This section thus constitutes an immensely prolonged acceleration pattern whose accelerating units are beat groups rather than individual beats. This is especially clear in the drumbeats that end each group, as they slowly and almost imperceptibly begin to follow one another at increasingly closer intervals. As the end approaches, there is a clear progression towards an impending climax, especially in the final 10, 9, 8 . . . sequence. From a purely Western perspective, this last sequence has the tension-building effect of a space-technology "countdown"—except that the transition to the climax begins on 1, and zero is never reached. The formulas for the 180-15 and 10-1 beat group sequences are given in Figure 4B.

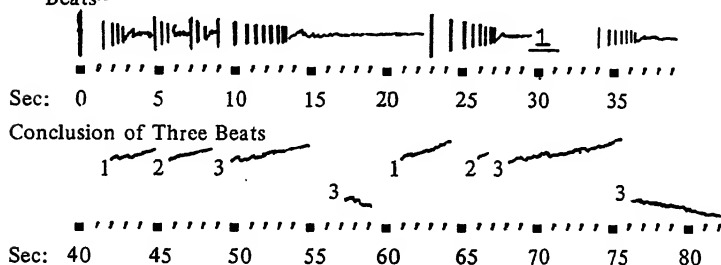
C) The final section of the piece consists of one long and one short Fall acceleration followed by Three Beats. It begins with *Phab chen Thang thang gsum*, "Large Fall with Three Thang Thang." This is an extended acceleration with intermediate accelerating patterns added after

A: First section, "Chöjung Nöma" (see also Figure 3)

0 | 1 | (1a) | 2 | (2a) | 3 | *Dza Hüṃ Baṃ Ho*
 (4 single pulses)
 Sec: 0 | 2 | 22 | 42 | 62 | 82 | 102 104 106 108

B: Middle section, two decreasing beat group sequences ($1\frac{3}{4}$ min) $180+1$, $170+1$, $160+1$, . . . $15+1$. (140→180 beats/minute) $10+1$, $9+1$, $8+1$, . . . $1+1$. * (120/min; 1 *=beginning of section C)

C: Final section, Long and Short Falls and Three Beats *Phab chen Thang thang gsum*, Large Fall with Three *Thang thang*, and *Phab chung*, Small Fall; first beat of Three Beats^x



^xIn this performance, beat 1 of Three Beats is played as a short Fall, with a three-second pause between the initial stroke and the beginning of the accelerating pulse series.

Figure 4. *mGon po spyan 'dren*, "Invitation to Mahākāla"

each of its first 3 strokes, producing a pattern of 3 gradually accelerating accelerations. The next few strokes are played with normally accelerating pulses, each stroke increasingly faster, giving the impression that the series of Falls have now accelerated to the length of normal beats. The acceleration continues until, as in every Fall pattern, separate strokes shorten to individual pulses which finally blur together into a final soft hum. This compound acceleration lasts 22 seconds, and is immediately followed by a 7-second ordinary short Fall (Fig. 4C).

The first beat of the concluding "Three Beats" is also played as a short Fall, with a 3-second pause between the initial stroke and the first pulse of the accelerating pulse series that ends the beat. During this pause the resonance from the initial stroke is the only sound heard (the full ensemble had entered for the first time in the piece at the beginning of section C, and suddenly drops out here). After the 3-second pause, cymbals and drums play the rest of the beat as a short Fall (Fig. 3C). The remainder of "Three Beats" is played with its normal beat pattern (p. 228 above). On the final *'dzag* afterbeat, the players extend the pulse acceleration into a *bzhag rol* cadence (p. 231), rotating the cymbals as they play and finally settling them in their laps to bring the piece to a close.

CONCLUSION

I implied in the introductory remarks that a question remains unresolved concerning Western perceptions of *rol mo*: Why do Western musicologists, much less laymen, so often turn to symbolically-oriented explanations of *rol mo* as "ritual sound," rather than to structural explanations of musical sound?

Part of the cause might lie in still-pervasive Western romantic notions of "mystic Tibet," but our study suggests another explanation. Most published studies of Tibetan Buddhist music have apparently been based on quantitative and formal analyses of recorded performances. Although the quantitative time measurements used in this paper have been quite rudimentary, they should still be adequate to show that the non-uniform handling of time/event relationships in *rol mo* make a purely quantitative analysis appear quite chaotic. Consider, for example, the 40-second (with afterbeat) beats found in the first section of "Invitation to Mahākāla," the 180-per-minute beats in the middle section, and the varying-length 2-to-7-second (*without* afterbeat!) beats in the last section. Likewise, the complex mathematical structure of this piece would hardly be apparent in a recording, however carefully listened to, without some idea of what to listen for.

The research on which this paper is based utilized the "cognitive" or "ethnoscience" approach of beginning with an attempt to discover the musical categories significant to the performers themselves. The significant musical *categories* were simultaneously correlated with significant differences in musical *sounds*. This was done in the context of performance lessons, in which answers were with equal frequency volunteered by the teacher or given in response to questions. In order to avoid suggesting terms in which the answer might be couched, most initial questions were kept at the most general level possible: "How do you play that sound?" "What is it?"

The result is a systematic basis for analyzing *rol mo* that tells us something not only about Tibetan musical categories, but about Tibetan musical sounds as well. Ethnomusicology, more than the other ethno-sciences, is relatively open to adopting the use of "native categories" for scientific purposes: we not only study *tāla* as an Indian theoretical concept, but thankfully use it in place of our own less appropriate "measures" for describing and analyzing Indian musical performances. In some cases, concepts like the Javanese *slendro/pelog* and *gongan* have opened new approaches that allow us to broaden and redefine our own views of the nature of music. Further study of Tibetan concepts such as *brdung*, 'dzag, *grangs*, and *phab* may bring similarly wide-reaching results. We have introduced concepts such as " 'logarhythmic' structure," "component pieces," "structural transformations," and even the "countdown" metaphor to characterize certain striking aspects of *rol mo* organization; but a great deal of less tentative description, analysis, and comparison remains to be done to evaluate the significance of Tibetan musical concepts and sounds.

The most spectacular feature of *rol mo* rhythmic structure is the complex mathematical organization of some of the longer compositions. We certainly ought to ask in what sense these mathematical structures are actually a part of the Tibetan "cognitive map." Tibetan notation, in its original or our modified version, presents us with a set of symbols that not only correlate specifically with specific sounds, but reveal numerically organized, patterned sequences of units. The musicians do not write out the abstract mathematical formulas for such sequences; but, on the other hand, a musician did draw out the steps of the geometric construction of the mandala figure in "Invitation to Mahākāla." Furthermore, such geometric constructions, done with compass and straightedge, are widely used in Tibetan art and architecture. If, by contrast, the use of complex mathematical sequences in Tibetan culture is primarily or uniquely found in music, this would suggest a central role for music in the development of human modes of cognition and abstract thought.

Such a role, at least, is suggested by certain Tibetan scholars. The historian Dpa' to gtsug lag 'phreng ba, discussing the growth of the performing arts (*Zlos gar*) in Tibet, refers to 3 types of early religious and musical specialists:

In general, in the beginning in Tibet, the *Sgrung*, *Lde'u*, and *Bon* opened the intellect. Later, intellects became sharper because of the spread of writing, mathematics, etc. . . .

(1565:Vol. Tsa, 42a)

And the 13th-century scholar Sa skya Pandita, in the conclusion to his *Treatise on Music*, presents this argument for why one ought to study music:

Until in your own mind you have cultivated all objects of cognition,
Omniscience will be as far away as the utmost limits of space.
By such reasoning, it is well that the Buddhas and their sons
Have said: "Cultivate all of the sciences!"

(Sa skya Pandita n.d.: 7a)


ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This paper was delivered at the meetings of the Society for Ethnomusicology at Austin, Texas, in November, 1977. The information and recordings upon which it is based were collected in Nepal during 1973-4 in fieldwork sponsored by NDEA Title VI and Wisconsin Vilas Travel grants.

Although many individuals, both Tibetan and non-Tibetan, contributed help and information that made this study possible, I owe special acknowledgement and thanks to my teacher and friend, Phursang, of Swayambhu Kargyud Monastery. Most of the Tibetan musical concepts and notations presented here were furnished by him; and, of course, the musical recordings which have contributed to this analysis reflect his musical performance skills. Most of my own work has consisted of editing, rearranging, translating, and analyzing his contributions. The analysis, of course, is my own responsibility.

NOTES

1. For an example of a pre-9th-century-A.D. Indian Buddhist instrumental notation, with 14th-century Tibetan performance instructions, see Ellingson n.d. In this example, rhythm is treated in the "Indian" way; i.e., organized in repeating cycles of regular beats. The type of rhythmic organization described in this paper was a later Tibetan innovation, the chronological development of which may become clearer as new historical sources become available. All Tibetan Buddhist musical traditions still continue to make some use of regular beats and repeating groups (cf. Fig. 2); and the actual treatment of playing techniques, pulse subdivisions of beats, and construction of beat groups and larger structural units varies considerably from one tradition to another.

2. Some of the spellings and notational symbols used in this study have been borrowed from other performing traditions, either to increase clarity or to make use of more widely-understood terminology. For example, the universally-understood *abyangs* (p. 227) is used to replace *gdangs*; the rather unwieldy spelling '*Beb*s' ("phap") is replaced by the spelling *phab* (p. 229) from the Bon po religious/musical tradition; and, in the notations, to convey the nature of an increasing acceleration, the graphic symbol  has been adapted from Bon po notation to replace the written-out word '*bebs*'.

3. In some monasteries the *dbu mdzad* is designated *byang 'dren* or *byings 'dren*. In certain monasteries of the Sa skya pa religious tradition, the cymbals are played by a musician designated *Rol dpon*, who follows the structural outline beaten by the *dbu mdzad* on the drum.

4. *Dbyangs* is a special type of vocal music, the melodic structure of which is based on sequential arrangements of subtly varying tone contours rather than discretely separated pitches. For a brief discussion of *dbyangs*, see Ellingson 1979.

5. Time and dynamic indications are added from the author's Tapes #74-2-15-a-s, recorded at Shes grub Chos 'khor Dar rgyas gling Monastery, Swayambhu, Nepal, February, 1974.

6. When this paper was read at the 1977 SEM meetings, a tape recorded example was played, and the perceptual problem pointed out. Out of the dozen or so persons who responded, all agreed that they had been unable to perceive a coherent sound structure at the beginning and ending of a "fall," but had heard recognizable beats in the middle.

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PIMAN SONGS ON HUNTING

Donald Bahr, Joseph Giff, and Manuel Xavier

This paper examines three sets of Piman (Pima-Papago) songs on hunting.¹ Each set is for the cure of a different kind of sickness. One is for 'deer sickness' (*huawi mumkidag*).² Another, for 'jimsonweed sickness' (*kotdopi mumkadag*), has a deer as its central character and in effect tells a hunting story. The last, for 'cow sickness' (*haiwañ mumkidag*), is also a hunting story with cowboys and cows in the roles of hunters and hunted. The three sets are felt to give a fair picture of Piman sung literature on hunting, the prime Piman literary expression on the subject.³

The paper is a sequel to one by Bahr and Haefer that viewed a short set of jimsonweed curing songs from the perspectives of text, rhythm, melodic structure, and form (1978). Here we begin with a different and methodologically challenging set on jimsonweed, which is also rather short, and move into some larger sets, on deer and cow, which share the theme of hunting. Our prime interest is in how multi-song sets or "song cycles"⁴ function as literature, hence questions of rhythm will be treated only slightly, melodic structure not at all, and form will be treated only as it pertains to text. Our thesis on song as literature is that, among Pimans, song becomes a powerful literary form through the use of multi-song sets. Stated negatively, the study of isolated songs would miss the power of the literature. This argument was advanced in reference to a small and gem-like set in the Bahr and Haefer paper. Here we wish to apply it to a broader range of materials and to commence a survey of the modes of song set composition. The paper is meant to be understandable in its own terms, but the reader may turn to Bahr and Haefer for background on the role of song in Piman curing and for our rationale for writing song texts linearly above *ictus* points rather than in conventional rhythmic notation.

PIMA JIMSONWEED SONGS

We start with a four song set taken down by Frank Russell from the Pima singer *Wişag Woi'i*, 'Hawk Flying,' in 1902 (1908:299-300). Russell explains that the songs were used for the cure of jimsonweed sickness,⁵

which in our opinion renders them comparable to the Papago jimsonweed songs, taped in 1974, which were the basis of the Bahr and Haefer paper. There appears to be nothing drastic separating Pima curing songs of 1902 from Papago songs of today; they are products of the same literary, musical, and curing culture.

This is good news for Piman studies if true, for Russell's corpus of 229 songs of all types, many of them highly esoteric, becomes an extremely valuable record. Yet because it was written as linguistics, totally without musical notation, it is an open question how much musical information can be obtained from it. We are concerned in this paper solely with music-as-text, but would like to say that, owing to the highly textual nature of Piman song, rhythmic configurations may also be reconstructable for most of the words, lines, and stanzas of the corpus.⁶

For this paper Bahr and Giff have done two things to Russell's texts, a reworking and an addition. The reworking was to establish line boundaries within the songs' stanzas, the addition was to supply ordinary Piman language equivalents for Russell's phonetic transcription of Piman "song language." The reworking was necessary because of the format in which the songs were published. Russell used a standard linguistic format of the time with a phonetic transcription and interlinear translation, plus a separate free translation. Inexplicably he wrote the phonetic transcriptions in paragraph form, with rather arbitrary use of punctuation marks, and used lines as organizing principles only in his poetic free translations. These latter lines do not follow the structure of the Pima originals in a consistent manner, hence the need to reconstruct line boundaries from the phonetic transcriptions and interlinear translations. Had Russell written the lines as he surely heard them, this would not have been necessary. In effect his format masks a certain amount of musical information: He heard songs but wrote paragraphs on the one hand and Victorian poetry on the other. The addition of ordinary language equivalents was necessary because Piman song language is difficult even for experienced singers to understand. Song texts tend to be extremely terse and ambiguous. Compared with ordinary speech there are changes in word order, vowel length, and consonant value. Syllables are added, deleted, or reduplicated "for the sake of the song." Thus, anyone seriously interested in what the songs say, including any Pima, needs an ordinary language "translation" as well as an accurate transcript of the song language.

We give a revised English translation of the songs below, with lines provided. In the Appendix are Russell's song language transcripts, their ordinary Piman language "translations," and essentially the same English translations as appear below. The same format is used for the other song

sets of this paper, however these were recorded recently and transcribed by Bahr.

Song 1

White morning stands,
White morning stands,
Just then I arise and go.

Green evening falls,
Green evening falls,
Just then I arise and go.

Song 2

Jimsonweed leaves,
Jimsonweed leaves:
And I just eat [them] and
Get dizzy.
Staggering [I] run.

Jimsonweed flowers,
Jimsonweed flowers:
And I just eat [them] and
Get drunk.
Staggering [I] run.

Song 3

Bow keeping man me follows,
Here me reaches,
Will me kill,
Here me throws down:
These my horns
[he] Cuts and throws.

Arrow keeping man me follows,
Here me reaches,
Will me kill,
Here me throws down:
These my forelegs
Cuts and throws.

Song 4

Flies dizzy,
Flies dizzy:
There spill out and
There beat [wings].

Butterflies drunk,
Butterflies drunk:
There spill out and
There split [wings].

The songs are composed in two verses that differ from each other only at selected points. The differences are oppositions, if not always "opposites": Two things are opposed that otherwise have a lot in common. The oppositions in the first song are white and green—colors; morning and evening—times of day; and stands and falls—movements. This process may be termed the *internal splitting* of a song. It is not rare in Piman songs, but the deer and cow songs discussed below don't have it. Internally split songs have two properties: Their verses are sung as verses of one song, and the verses are always pairs. There is no intrinsic reason why a song should not split into three or more verses—certainly some of the oppositions in the above set could take triple or quadruple form, e.g., the colors. But it appears that internal splitting only results in two's.

Our main interest is in the development of the set as a whole, i.e., in

developments across the songs rather than within them. The four songs apparently tell the story of one hero, a deer. The subsidiary characters in this story are hunters who kill the hero, and flies and butterflies who arrive on scene after his death. Jimsonweed, whose 'way'⁵ is celebrated in the set, is not portrayed as a character and is mentioned by name only in Song 2. The weed may be seen as an active factor in songs 2, 3, and 4, however.

Because the set was published almost without commentary, our interpretation is inferential. Two points may be advanced in its favor. (1) Russell supplied just one comment on the set: that it was used to bring success in deer hunting as well as to cure jimsonweed sickness (1908:299n). This would identify the horned animal in Song 3 as a deer. (2) Although the set is said to treat both deer and jimsonweed, two songs mention neither. It would require an extreme know-nothing attitude to sustain that half of the songs of this short set have nothing to do with its stated topics. Our interpretation shows how they do.

The first three songs are cast in the first person. The claim is that this "I" is the same individual throughout and is a deer. Song 1 simply states that an unidentified "I" arose and went out. The song *opens* the set by raising two questions: "Who is this I?" and "What did he do on going out?" Both questions could have been answered in one song, that is, songs exist that say "Deer went out" at the beginning and "He arrived someplace and did something" at the end. Such songs achieve a narrative closure intentionally lacking in this first song.

Song 2 answers the question of "What did he do?": the hero arrives at jimsonweed and becomes intoxicated. Song 3 answers the question of "Who": the "I" has horns. Song 3 also continues the train of "doings": the deer, intoxicated in Song 2, is killed by hunters. Thus the set brings jimsonweed, deer, and hunting into conjunction across songs.

Song 4 is in the third person; its central characters are flies and butterflies instead of the deer, presumably because the deer is dead. The insects arrive someplace and get intoxicated, i.e., they do something like the hero of the set, only with no bad consequences for themselves. (At least none are stated.) We may speculate that the insects get off "free" in this set because their flying patterns are viewed as erratic in the first place—they move about like drunks all the time; or they may get off free because, drunk or not, they are not game animals. In either case the insects are placed in contrast to the deer. Finally, no cause is stated within the song for the insects' intoxication. Again, if one wants to link this song to "something about jimsonweed," the link must be formed across songs. We conclude that the set is unified by the chaining of a small number of distinct songs into a common story line. We will see this same

device used in the much larger deer and cow sets. It is a major means of song set construction, but certainly not the only one as the following brief review of the Papago jimsonweed set (Bahr and Haefer 1978:94ff) will show.

PAPAGO JIMSONWEED SONGS

Song 1

Jimsonweed drinking place water lies,
 Jimsonweed drinking place water lies:
 Just then grey butterfly arrives,
 Drinks and gets dizzy.

Jimsonweed drinking place water lies,
 Jimsonweed drinking place water lies:
 Just then grey fly arrives,
 Drinks and gets dizzy.

Song 3

Rock standing mountain,
 Rock standing mountain,
 On top jimsonweed water lies:
 Just then spotted butterfly arrives,
 Drinks and gets dizzy.

Rock standing mountain,
 Rock standing mountain,
 On top jimsonweed water lies:
 Just then spotted fly arrives,
 Drinks and gets dizzy.

Song 4

Song 2

Jimsonweed water lies,
 Jimsonweed water lies:
 Just then green butterfly arrives,
 Drinks and gets dizzy.

Jimsonweed water lies,
 Jimsonweed water lies:
 Just then green fly arrives,
 Drinks and gets dizzy.

Stretching water lies,
 Stretching water lies:
 Just then jimsonweed comes out,
 Many colored bird arrives,
 Drinks and gets dizzy.

Stretching water lies,
 Stretching water lies:
 Just then jimsonweed comes out,
 Many colored butterfly arrives,
 Drinks and gets dizzy.

Song 5

Lizard drinking place water lies,
 Lizard drinking place water lies:
 Just then grey butterfly arrives,
 Drinks and gets dizzy.

Lizard drinking place water lies,
 Lizard drinking place water lies:
 Just then grey fly arrives,
 Drinks and gets dizzy.

Besides internal splitting these songs clearly exhibit another compositional process. The set is built on variations of a single song. The difference between a split song and a variant song is in singing. Any Piman *curing song* is repeated several times in succession. The shift from one song to another is marked by a pause, e.g., to clear the throat or to blow breath towards spirits. The five songs in this set were so treated. They are five distinct songs that are close variants of each other. In singing them, the "split" verses are sung in alternation, i.e., as internal components of a song. The set as a whole does not unfold as continuing episodes in one story. Rather it "rotates," taking the same story through precisely calibrated variations.⁷

The Papago set is interesting because it embodies splitting as well as song variation. Its splitting is confined to a single idea—the name of a winged species that arrives to take a drink. It uses splitting less than the Pima set. Yet, because song variation is also at work, the set arrives at a more elaborate system of winged species than do the Pima songs: to butterfly and fly it adds 'bird.' More elaborate still is the Papago set's handling of colors. Color is an element in only one of the Pima songs (1) and, being split, the color system there takes on just two values (white and green). Color is used throughout the Papago set to produce a more challenging series: grey, green, spotted, many colored, grey. The generation of such series, which transcend the logic or rubric of "oppositeness," appears to be one of the motives for putting a song through multiple variations.

These and other points about the Papago set are discussed in the earlier article. The first song raises a question on jimsonweed's mobility, and the remainder of the songs answer that question. The question-raising function of a set's first song is likewise seen in the Pima set. Thus the two sets do a similar thing through quite different technical means. The Papago set uses song variation to run essentially the same story through slight variations, the Pima set uses one hero to bridge across quite different sung stories. These are pure cases of the two techniques. We will find them mixed in varying degrees in the next two sets.

PAPAGO DEER SONGS

This set was recorded recently from Papago singer Manuel Havier. Unlike the Papago jimsonweed set, it was not recorded from a cure, but was sung at Bahr's request. Havier stated that these 19 are all the deer songs he knows; he was not asked whether they would all be sung, and in this order, in an actual cure. In Bahr's opinion the first 16 songs could

constitute a cure in the order sung. Those songs were sung from beginning to end on one visit to Havier's house. The three remaining songs were sung on the next visit, with the explanation that they are also deer songs. They appear to be extra songs rather than items accidentally left out of the original singing.

How important is performance context (e.g., an actual cure versus tape recording for the visiting scholar) for the integrity of these song sets? Singers normally fix their repertoire for a given type of song so as to sing the same songs in the same sequence whenever that type of song is called for.⁸ A specialist in curing songs such as Havier knows as many as 40 sets ranging from sets of one to sets of over 30 different songs. Some sets are used only rarely. (Havier knows one beaver song, for instance, even though there have been few if any beavers in Pima-Papago territory since the damming of the Gila River in the late 19th century.) If a set has not been called for recently, the singer needs time to assemble it in his mind. This is one problem in eliciting sets on demand: Without time for reflection the singer may forget something. Another problem is that he may simply not wish to sing all of a long set. It is doubtful, however, that a singer would deliberately scramble a set. It is hard enough to sing a set through correctly and would be harder still to scramble it. Accordingly, Bahr feels that the large number of curing song sets published by Russell (1908) and Underhill (1946) are very probably complete and suitable for study. Some deer sets from each will be discussed briefly at the end of this paper.

The prescribed full rendition for the English translation below is in the Appendix.

Song 1

Songs at the start lie,
Songs at the start lie:
My tail separates
And gets black.

Song 3

What kind of flower?
Away far shining—it
Must be thorn flower.
Towards it I run.

Song 2

Away at Crow Mountain,
Away farther [something is] greatly
sounding.
Towards that I go:
Land at the start is delightful.

Song 4

Yellow Mountain:
On it tree comes out.
And I arrive and look:
These horns of mine rub on it.
I so much want to hear:
Inside it rubs in me.

Song 5

Far off we run together,
 Far off we run together,
 Afraid of people and running.
 Off there stands Shiny Mountain:
 On it our tails swing.

Song 6

Water that starts from someplace:
 On it I arrive.
 Many butterflies surround me,
 Singing on my horns.

Song 7

Far off tree flower:
 There yellow bees pour out.
 Here on me they hoot:
 Must be my bees
 And here hoot.

Song 8

Will you kill me?
 Then everywhere will sound:
 Pitiful song.
 Then everywhere will drizzle.

Song 9

Away running,
 Away running:
 I hold myself to it,
 Then turn around and look:
 Many of our horns are going.

Song 10

Away stretching,
 Away stretching:
 I hold myself to it,
 Then turn around and look:
 Many of our backs are going.

Song 11

Deer runs and then
 Far off it leads me and
 In the dark speaks:
 Leads me through.

Song 12

Wind that blows from someplace
 Through the night: go and see.
 Here in my tracks wind twists:
 You will know about it.

Song 13

Morning white comes out,
 And I hold myself below it.
 This tail of mine: eagle feather
 Similar is.

Song 14

Here [you] ran up to me and
 Here bring me.
 Here ran up to me and
 Here bring me:
 Sun shines and I can't stand it:
 Deer ears
 Turn circles.

Song 15

Little Lengthener Mountain: there
 On it I stand, so
 My horns get longer.
 Away I go:
 Just then sun rays
 At my horn tips stop.

Song 16

Moving sun:
 Frightening
 Is, and there sets.
 What can I do?
 Far land walk on.

Song 17

Covering far mountain,
Covering far mountain:
Here between my fur,
Darkly penetrating.

Song 18

I'm not sickly going,
I'm not sickly going:
Far off Bitter Mountain,
Towards I go.

Song 19

Coyote slightly howls,
There circles us and howls,
Oh oh my poor children:
There standing,
Aimless wandering.

This long set has only one instance of song variation (the pair 9 and 10) and no splitting. It employs the "chaining" method of the Pima set, only in a grander and more complex manner. Where the Pima set followed an "I" who was a deer through the first three songs and then switched to a "they" who were insects, the present set takes an "I" who is a deer through four songs, drops him for one, resumes him for three, drops him for three, then returns to him for the final five songs. (After, come the three "leftovers," which we do not believe would be sung with the others in an actual cure.)

The commentary will take the songs in groups of four. This is because they would probably be sung that way in an actual cure, with pauses for other ritual activity and for relaxation between the groups, and also because the groups of four carry demonstrably different themes:

1-4: a deer's anticipations;

5-8: a deer's consummations;

9-12: turning the tables;

13-16: a deer and the sun.

The task is to demonstrate the themes and show how they form a coherent story of one deer's activities—as narrated by the deer.

Large (i.e., more than eight item) song sets usually begin with references to one or more of the following phenomena: the setting of the sun, the direction west, or the *starting* of songs. They generally end with references to the rising of the sun, the direction east, or the *ending* of songs. While such references are standard, they vary greatly across sets. These variations are important clues to the integration and individuality of each song set. If there is a level of integration above the single song (which point is fundamental to our analysis), the beginning and ending points in a set must surely manifest it; if sets are individualized, the beginning and ending songs should function as their fingerprints.

The present set has 'songs' and 'start' in the opening line of Song 1, but instead of saying 'songs are starting' as one might expect, the line says, 'Songs at the start [of something] lie.' The word for 'start' in this case, *ṣoñ*, could equally be translated as 'base.' Thus the set commences by referring to songs as physical things capable of lying against other things, and the question arises, "What are they lying against?"

It is not unusual to speak in Piman of songs as concrete entities. For example, singers regularly say, 'I am going to stand up a song' when they are about to sing. The present usage crosses the boundary into the unusual and "songlike," however, by using *ṣoñ* ('start; base; origin') as a noun instead of a verb, and by leaving a question dangling. The remainder of the song does not tell us where the songs are lying. Rather, the song changes the subject to state that the songs' existence caused the narrator's tail to rise and darken. The set is about a mule deer (*huawi*), a species whose tail is dark to begin with. The inference is that the songs made the deer's tail turn darker than usual. He is stimulated.

Song 2 answers the question of the songs' location by naming a mountain—Crow Mountain—and by locating sounds, implicitly of the songs, beyond that mountain. The deer moves in the direction of the mountain. As he goes he says, '[the] Land at the [songs'] starts is delightful.' We understand that this land is at some distance from his original location.

These first two songs tell a story similar to the first song of the Pima jimsonweed set: A deer starts out. There is a difference in the psychological quality of the narrative, however. The present songs have the deer *drawn towards* something—songs—while the Pima set omits all reference to the deer's subjective state at the start of his journey. The present set's interest in psychological portraiture will become clearer as we proceed.

Song 3 adds a mode of perception to the deer's narrative. Where he had only *heard* things through the first two songs, he now *sees*—a flower. Typical of this set, he doesn't know what kind of flower it is and says so. We understand the problem: It was not the flower itself that he saw, but a shining light that came from it. Apparently it is night.

Besides adding a sense mode, another additive process is detectable through the first three songs. This concerns locomotion. The deer is stationary in the first song; all that moves is his tail, which stands up. The second song has him 'go' (*him*) in the direction of the distant land of starts. The verb *him* normally means 'to go at a walk.' The third song has him 'run' (*med*). Thus the set to this point has the hero increasingly stimulated and progressively in motion.

Song 4 has the deer arrive someplace for the first time, only it is at a tree at Yellow Mountain rather than at his presumed destination beyond

Crow Mountain (Song 1). (Both of these places sound like typical Piman place names, but they are not famous mountains in the Piman world, and we think that they could represent different spots to different people.) The deer rubs his horns on the tree and says, 'I want so much to hear [the songs whose starting place remains to be arrived at].'

The second group of four songs parallels the first in some points but deals in consummations or endings rather than anticipations. Song 5 introduces people for the first time. (We may assume that humans produced the songs that first stimulated the deer but the set leaves that point unstated.) People frighten deer, here referred to in the plural, and cause them to run with upraised tails onto Shiny Mountain. The element of tails ties this song to the opener of the previous group; however, the tails are now in retreat. Whatever these deer were doing, humans made them abandon their plans.

Set in the first person plural, this song breaks the string of "I's" of the first group. We cannot explain why. There are also indications that the time of day has changed from night to day. We will defer the systematic discussion of this second shift until the concluding section of the paper. For the present it is enough to note that the changes in narrative "person" and in time of day have come at an appropriate point in the set, i.e., at the commencement of a new group of four songs. This second group of songs may be thought of as analogous to the second act of a play. Song 5, then, is "Act 2, Scene 1."

Song 6 returns to a narrative in the first person singular and, it is believed, to the continuing saga of the "I" who was the hero of the first four songs. Song 5 finds him at a place with water of unknown origin: 'water that starts from someplace.' The deer has arrived at this mysterious place presumably still under the influence of the songs that set him in motion on the night before. He finds songs here but they are not the ones that he first heard from beyond Crow Mountain. To be more exact, it is not that he finds the songs, but that songs come to him:

Many butterflies surround me,
Singing on my horns.

Recall that he rubbed his horns impatiently against the tree in Song 4. We call this a consummation.

These are not his ultimate songs. Song 7 takes him to a tree where bees 'pour out' and 'hoot' (*kuhu*, a word that refers to the sound of wind instruments, to owl hoots, but *not* to the sound of human singing). The sequence of butterflies and bees in this pair corresponds, of course, to the butterflies and flies of the jimsonweed songs.⁹ As will be elaborated in the conclusion, they set the narrative time in the day rather than at night.

Furthermore, in both the Pima jimsonweed songs and the present set, they signify bad luck for the deer.

Songs 6 and 7 leave the deer twice consummated with insect song makers. Song 8 reintroduces humans and brings out a third form of song, which is the deer's bad luck. He thinks he will be killed and anticipates the 'pitiful songs' that will sound 'everywhere' after his death. Then it will sprinkle, this extravagant song also says.

Thus closes another four-song "act." The set is now twice as long as the Pima jimsonweed narrative. It has advanced the hero to the point of death. From here on it shows great but confusing originality, though order will appear at the end.

Song 9 commences a new "act," laid in the night. There is an "I" in Song 9 but we doubt it is the hero, who will not again appear as "I" until Song 12. This "I" is a character whom we term "the deer fancier." He follows deer. He could be a man following deer or he could be another deer. Because of the final two songs of the group, we see him as a man, but admittedly the first person plural 'our' in Songs 9 and 10 makes this interpretation problematical. All that we get from the very similar Songs 9 and 10 (the only two song variants in the set) is that a deer fancier is following deer.¹⁰

Song 11 has the unmistakable look of a North American Indian "vision quest" song in which a deer leads and speaks to a human 'through the night.' It is because of this song that we see the "I" of 9 and 10 as a human. The group's final song, 12, is also consistent with a vision quest interpretation, however, it shifts the "I" back to the deer. In this song the deer instructs his follower about a 'wind that blows from someplace.' He says in effect, "If you (humans) can't find the starting place of the wind, I'll give you a clue: Follow my tracks backwards for the wind is in them." The 'wind that blows from someplace' is of course a reflex of Song 6's 'water that starts from someplace.' This is the night, however, and that was day. This time a human is lost and the deer gives him help, that time the deer was lost and human hunters were about to be met. The progression through Act 3 has turned the tables on Act 2. We will find a similar turning in the next song set, about cows.

The final group of four songs is concerned with the relation between the deer and the sun. This group brilliantly restores order to the set, badly needed after the problems encountered in the "deer fancier" series. Song 13, the first of the new group, compares the deer's tail struck by 'morning white' to an eagle's tail feather, which is naturally white and black. We understand that a mule deer's tail is naturally all black. According to the song, the first white light of morning (the whiteness that appears in the east an hour or so before dawn) lightens a portion of the tail to color it black and white as an eagle feather.

The song must be seen as the mate for Song 1. That song claimed that the deer's tail darkened when he heard songs. Nothing was said about the time of day but the reference to 'shining' in the next song lets us suppose that it was night. Now Song 13 explains the opposite effect on his tail, but assigns a physical rather than a psychological explanation to it. It is not the deer's reaction to sounds that caused his tail to change color, but the simple fact of light. The deer is telling a joke on his earlier self.

Song 14 looses us again. It harks back to the group 9-12 in treating the relation between a deer and somebody else, but the sun is added now as a third party. Our interpretation is that the "I" is a (human?) deer fancier, the "you" is the deer hero. The "I" doesn't like the bright light of the now risen sun, but neither apparently does the deer whose ears 'turn circles.' The song is both internally ambiguous and difficult to see as an answer to any previous songs. Perhaps it was inserted into the set simply because it is about the sunrise.

Examination of the last two songs, 15 and 16, yields better results. Song 15 is a play on the standard concept of the *ending* of songs and thus answers to the play on *starts* in Song 1. The present song is a masterpiece of word play: Instead of *songs ending* (*ñeñe'i o ku:kug*), the deer's horn tips (*a'ag ku:kug*) are stretched until they reach a point where sun rays *stop* (*ku:kugwa*). The deer is now at rest, having been united with the sun.

Come to rest after so many unsatisfactory meetings (with a tree, water of uncertain origin, a tree flower, hunters, and deer fanciers), we imagine that the hero would like to keep this last contact. He cannot, however. The set ends by turning full circle with Song 16. The 'moving sun' sets, it will soon be dark. The deer anticipates starting off again to walk on a 'far land.' Song 17, if it existed, could be Song 1.

The mood of this 'deer way' story will be discussed after the cow songs. Here we consider the set's narrative structure and the Piman concept of song set authorship. Pimans do not consider their songs to be human products, but rather consider them authored by somebody "supernatural," normally an animal or spirit. A song set, therefore, is a *deer's* story that was given to mankind. As the texts in the Appendix show, this story is in a language a step removed from ordinary spoken Piman. All Piman songs, regardless of 'way' or type, are formed in the same song language. We may draw the implication from this, that for Pimans "song language" is the lingua franca of the intelligent universe. This is a Piman manifestation of a theme common among North American Indians: In ancient times the animals and men talked the same language. Among Pimans they still do and that language is *song*. A further implication is that this lingua franca is now spoken in dreams, for that is how singers get their songs. Presumably the linguistic transcript of a dream, if such were possible, would be largely in song language.

Now while all songs are understood as coming from dreams or other unusual encounters, there are two senses in which a deer song set, for example, may be a "deer's story." It may be a deer's story about anything, or it may be a deer's story about himself. Interesting questions for future study concerning the first sense are: What do deer, etc., choose to tell about besides themselves? How far afield does "deer literature" go? If a deer is believed to be the author of the Pima jimsonweed set, then why was it a deer? Cannot jimsonweed speak for itself? What besides a deer would author a set of jimsonweed songs and what besides jimsonweed would a deer produce a song set about? The second sense is exemplified in the set just considered. It is a deer's *personal* story. It is organized around "I's" and these "I's" are taken as one deer's testimony. The Pima jimsonweed set was equally a first person narrative, while the Papago jimsonweed songs were entirely in the third person; they are song operating in the "objective mode." The cow song set studied below is an interesting combination. It uses "I's" but it uses them as quotations framed in an objective or third person format.

We have two autobiographical song sets in this paper, the Pima jimsonweed set, which is short and simple (relatively speaking), and the long, complex deer cycle. The deer cycle is even more complex because it goes beyond simple autobiography. Certain of its songs use second person language ("you's"). Song 8 introduces the second person with a rhetorical question, "Will you kill me?" The question apparently is addressed to humans as hunters. No response *as dialogue* was worked into the set—the matter was dropped as far as the *dramatis personae* of the set are concerned. True dialogue is found in the "deer fancier" group, however (Songs 9-12). The deer fancier speaks as "I" in 9, 10, and 11; the deer answers as "I" in 12. Finally, Song 14 has its "I" addressing an implicit "you," but this is an isolated song, whose place in the set has baffled us.

To sum up: The presence of dialogue in Songs 9-12 precludes the simplest reading of the "I's" in the set. The simplest reading would be: Every "I" designates a deer who is the hero and narrator of the set. That reading applies perfectly to the Pima jimsonweed set and marks it as *type: autobiography; subtype: monologue*. The deer set is *subtype: dialogue*. With dialogue the set has the germ of ritual drama. One could imagine human singers performing "parts." Apparently it is never sung this way. Piman song sets are sung either in solo or by a group of singers in unison. The script in this case is more complex than the performance.

PAPAGO COW SONGS

This set of 12 songs was given by Manuel Havier, also in a recording

session rather than in an actual cure. The first seven song translations are written differently from those of the preceding sets. They are sung in a slow and steady rhythm, creating a pattern of four-beat units for each word. These word units tend to form "line units" of just two such words. This pattern is represented in the translations. To get the "feel" of the songs in translation, the songs may be read aloud at the rate of 27 word units per minute (108 *beats* per minute.)¹¹ This method of writing is not appropriate for the deer songs or for most of the remaining five cow songs. Their rhythmic pattern is different, being jumpier, with lines of varying length, and with greater variation in the number of beats per word.

The seven slow and steady songs are all in a loose sense variants of each other. Yet we will discuss the set's *content* in terms of three groups of four songs each. The criterion of content divides the set in one fashion, and the joint criteria of rhythm and song form divide it in another. We attach no special significance to this—it just happens. If the set were sung in an actual cure, the breaks in singing would probably come at the intervals of four songs.¹² These four-song groups or "acts" embody the following themes:

- 1-4: Cowboys come;
- 5-8: Cowboys get cows;
- 9-12: Countercowboys.

Song 1		Song 2	
Far	rock	Black	hills
hill	stands.	stand.	
Around [it]	earth	Among [them]	many
wide	lies	cows	wander.
all	green.	Far off	cowboys
Just then	bull	come out,	will us
back and forth	wanders.	find.	
Horn	tips	Towards [us]	come,
very	green	then	frighten [us].
flower.		Away	bunched up
There	sings.	[we] run.	
		[cowboys] Won't	know.

Shining stands. One towards Around Many wander. [he] Among All	Song 3	mountain cowboy comes. circles. cows wanders. knows.	Song 6	hill buckskin comes out, runs. dusty: cowboys swing. rope me," wrap. telele,"
Black stands, across Below cows Far off come out and find. We all One among Then us Big cow: "He'll down will various	Song 4	hill stretching. many wander. cowboys will us bunch up. cowboy wanders. finds. eared rope me, throw me, do me."	Song 7	lies. many go. mountains come [cowboys]. reach it enter. hill: cowboys watch. many wander.
Yucca stands. Below comes out, away Two lariats Away [cow] runs. [cowboy] Won't	Song 5	mountain cow runs. cowboys: swing. far reach it.	Song 8	So they ran and then they roped me, On the feet they roped, Knocked me down. Bawling sounds.

Song 9

Flat mountain:
 Inside wind
 sounds.
 Around earth
 lies.
 Just then bull
 cries.
 Songs sound.

Song 11

Women sing
 And I sing with them:
 Must be prostitute women.
 Songs' ends
 very gently flower.

Song 10

Who are you cowboys and here
 wander?
 Away earth square corral makes,
 All of us are gathered.
 Just then bull cries.

Song 12

Away earth in circles shines.
 Just then bull cries.
 Earth lying all shaking.

The set begins with four variant songs on the theme of cowboys coming. These and the next three songs are among the longest Piman songs on record, two or three times as long as the average. In their exceptional length they trace the actions and reactions of two sides in a conflict, cows and cowboys. The set opens with a song from the cows' side before the appearance of cowboys. Cowboys appear in Song 2, but the cattle spot them and flee before contact is made. In Song 3 a cowboy finds and penetrates a herd. Song 4 completes the series with a 'big eared' cow on the verge of getting roped.

Song 1 is a hymn to being a bull. The earth he trods is green, his horns flower greenly, and he sings. It is the singing that ties this song to the standard format for opening a set. Singing appeared in the first deer song as well, but the deer heard songs from someplace else (presumably humans) and was stirred into action, while here the bull makes his own songs. This probably reflects a difference between the species, cattle being notoriously noisy animals, deer normally silent. We have never heard of a deer song in which the protagonist himself makes noise, while cow songs are full of cow sounds.

The contrast between the opening songs goes farther than that. The first object that the deer encountered on his journey was a (shining) flower, while the bull of Song 1 has flowers growing from his horns. Thus the bull comes endowed with two things the deer lacked: songs and flowers.

Further, the first act of the deer set takes place after dark; the first act of the cow set is in daytime. This is not explicit in either opening song, but

there are clues. We take the 'green' of the first cow song as indicative of daytime because the color green does not show at night. The visual references in songs about the night seem confined to 'black,' 'white,' 'darkness,' and 'shining.' The 'blackening' of the deer's tail in that set's first song is such a reference, as is the 'shining' flower of the third deer song. A daylight interpretation for the first act of the cow set is clinched by the narrative of cowboy activity in Songs 2, 3, and 4: Cowboys only round up in the day. Their rounding up activity is here described in a meticulous language of motion. The first four songs always use the word 'wander' (*oiyopo*) in reference to the initial deployment of the cattle. The word means 'to move about without going anyplace in particular.' It designates nondirected movement. (The same word is used for the deer's children's movements in the "leftover" Song 19). The cowboys on the other hand are always described initially as in directed movement. They 'come out.' They 'come towards' the cattle and only 'wander' (Songs 3 and 4) after penetrating the herd when they are poised and ready with their ropes.

A final comment on the first act: Song 4 makes reference to a 'big eared' cow who is about to be mistreated in an undisclosed manner ('down will throw me, various do [to] me'). Because of the epithet 'big eared,' the mistreatment probably will be "earmarking," i.e., the cutting of the cow's ears to mark ownership. Pimans (like other Southwestern cattlemen) use a double method to mark cattle ownership, branding and earmarking.

The analogue to this episode is in Song 8 of the deer set (likewise in a daytime portion of that set): the deer's anticipation of death at the hands of hunters. This contrast reflects a customary difference between the treatment of deer and cattle. When Pimans go out for deer, they go to kill them, but killing is never part of a cattle roundup. Cattle are caught, roped, thrown down, branded, earmarked, castrated, and generally turned loose again. The purpose of a roundup is to make chattels of cattle, not to take their lives. If rounded up cattle are to be killed, this act is not part of the roundup. They are driven home and killed there, or are sold to a cattle buyer for transport elsewhere. Thus we think that there would not be a deer song about earmarking, branding, or castrating, and neither would there be a cow song about killing the cow.

We turn now to the group 5-8 with the theme of "cowboys get cows." Cows get roped and are knocked down. What was anticipated in the previous song group is now accomplished. In one further textual development, cattle that were earlier described as 'wandering,' are now presented as in directed motion. Songs 5 and 6 have them 'come out' and 'away run'; Song 7 opens with them journeying on a 'road' (*wo:g*—the same word can be translated as 'trail' or 'path'). In effect the motions

attributed to the cowboys of the first act are now applied to the cows. The conflict is escalated.

Songs 5 and 6 are a pair of close variants, that is, they are closer to each other than to any other songs of the set. Song 7 is relatively removed from them and Song 8 represents a radical departure from any of the preceding songs of the group. In a very loose sense all the Songs 1-7 are variants of each other relative to the utterly different Song 8; at the opposite extreme, 5 and 6 are the only close variants in the set. Song variation in this set is a matter of degree. This is in contrast to the Papago jimsonweed set.

We come to the final song group whose theme is "countercowboys": our label for some mysterious humans who signal an improvement in the lot of cattle through Songs 9 to 12. Song 9 opens the new group by defining three sounds in conjunction: wind within Flat Mountain, a bull crying, and the sound of songs. This is the first bull on scene since Song 1. Likewise, songs are mentioned for the first time since Song 1, but this time they are not from the bull. It is not clear whom they are from—we think it is from the countercowboys whose role will become clearer as the group progresses. The cowboy oppressors of Songs 1-8 are now conspicuous by their absence. Our interpretation is that they have gone home for the night and have abandoned the field to countercowboys.

Song 10 commences with a question, 'Who are you cowboys [and] wander here?' It then describes a mysterious form of corral, 'earth squared [a] corral makes.' This is a natural corral, a peculiar earth or rock formation somewhere in the mountains that resembles a corral. To identify the kind of cowboy who would use such a corral we must go beyond the song texts into Piman cowboy lore. The cowboys in question would be 'devils' (*ñeñewul*, plu., *ñiawul*, sing., from the Spanish *diablo*, 'devil'). Piman 'devils' are human-like individuals who make their homes inside mountains. They dress as supercowboys, they ride the wildest horses, use the gaudiest saddles, carry the shiniest ropes, and go about primarily at night. Now it is night, the regular cowboys have gone home, and this kind of countercowboy confronts the crying bull.

Song 11 shifts to a first person narrative and brings out a second form of countercowboy. The 'I' has heard women singing and joins in singing with them (no doubt from afar). This is the first happy sound from cattle since the hymn to a bull in Song 1. Perhaps it is the same bull, but the text doesn't say so. The songs that cheered the "I," whoever he is, are from 'prostitute women' (*ce:cpaowi u'uwi*). 'Prostitutes' and 'devils' are among the few *human* 'dangerous objects' recognized by the Piman theory of sickness (see note 5). Most 'dangerous objects' are animals such as deer, cow, coyote, jackrabbit, butterfly, or eagle. Two are plants

(jimsonweed and peyote), and five are humans (devil, prostitute, saint, enemy, and ghost). As dangerous objects, both devils and prostitutes have song sets of their own, yet it is not surprising for them to appear in songs of another 'way.' Many sets of curing songs mention dangerous objects other than those that the set is primarily about. Thus we have had deer in jimsonweed songs, and the butterflies and flies/bees of the previous sets are dangerous objects in their own right.

A long discussion of 'prostitute way' is not in order. Briefly these women are to proper females as devils are to proper males. They live in the wild, are active at night, and stand for something "bad" about their sex. The badness of devils centers on wealth and fast horses. The badness of prostitutes centers on sex. They are envisioned as constantly enroute to one nighttime celebration or another, and as constantly either singing or calling for songs.¹³

The combined effect of the "improper" humans of Songs 10 and 11 is to counteract the cowboys of Songs 1-8. They play a role in this set analogous to the "deer fancier" of the previous set, that is, they appear at night after a day of human predation and they "turn the tables."

The cow set ends with sunrise. This is not directly stated but is readily inferred from the opening line of the last song, 'Away the earth [in] circles shines.' As in the deer set, this last song brings the story to full circle. For the cows the circle closes at the dawn of a new day in which cowboys might be expected to return. Presumably this is why the bull of Song 12 cries.

CONCLUSIONS: TECHNICAL

We have seen how a deer set uses "I's" to form an autobiography with dialogue. This is Piman song in a subjective mode. The cow songs use an objective mode. "I's" are quoted in these songs, but the presumed composer of the set keeps his own "I" out of the account. Cattle are referred to both in the singular and plural in this set, and both first and third person language are used. The great majority of the songs, including the most important first and last songs of the set, begin with third person language. If it uses first person language at all, this is normally after a song has been started with third person "they's" or "he's." In effect the set uses first person statements as quotes.

The above is the pattern through the first seven songs. The pattern breaks in Songs 8 and 11. These are first person narratives indistinguishable in form from those of the deer set. But where the deer set used such songs from beginning to end, here they are isolated. As the set is laid out,

there is no way to know for certain who these "I's" are (we guessed that they may be the bull). They are problem songs, like the "we" song (number 5) of the deer set, because they deviate from the dominant narrative mode.

Perhaps such deviations have a role or hide a meaning that we can't see, or perhaps they are simply imperfections. We don't know how much consistency to expect in sets and rest our case for now with the following catalogue of dominant narrative modes:

- pure third person narrative (Papago jimsonweed songs),
- autobiographic monologue (Pima jimsonweed songs),
- autobiography with dialogue (Papago deer songs),
- third person narrative with quotes (Papago cow songs).

Further work on additional sets should expand and refine this catalogue.

CONCLUSIONS: CONTENT

What do the sets tell us about the 'ways' of cows and deer and about hunting generally? These are the first cow songs to be published, so there is nothing to compare them to. The situation is better with deer songs, for Russell published a set of four Pima deer songs (1908:317-18) and Underhill has published four deer song sets (32 different songs) (1946:89-96). Russell's set is given in song language transcription with interlineal and free translation; Underhill's sets are in English only. We don't like to discuss songs that are not documented by song language transcriptions and native ordinary language interpretations, but the following remarks will take those additional sets into consideration. Let us start, though, by pulling our two long sets together.

The deer and cow sets come together on the axis of days and nights shown in Table 1. It emerges that the deer set covers two full days, e.g., from after sunset on a Friday night to sunset on the following Sunday. The cow set covers one full day, e.g., adjusted to the imaginary "deer calendar," from sometime on Friday morning to just after dawn on Saturday. The cow set concentrates on daytime (1-8, 12) and gives heavy coverage to the daytime interaction of humans and cows. The deer set is

TABLE 1

Deer	1,2,3,4	5,6,7,8	9,10,11,12,13,14	15	16
Sunset	Sunrise	Sunset	Sunrise	Sunset	
Cow		1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8	9,10,11	12	

about equally divided between night and day and mentions daytime human contacts only in Songs 5 and 8.

Deer Songs 1-4, "anticipations," are not explicitly marked as to time of day until Song 3 where a distant shining flower attracts the hero. The opening song, 1, does not actually say, "The sun is setting." It is a safe inference that the group is meant to refer to darkness, however, not only because of what Song 3 says, but because Song 13, explicitly about the coming of daylight, plays on or "answers to" significant details in Song 1. Deer Songs 5-8, "consummations," belong to daytime. The evidence for this is in Songs 6 and 7 where butterflies and bees are referred to. These are daytime insects and do not fly about at night. We contend that Song 8 is also a daytime song because hunting is a daytime activity; by the same inference the flight of deer from people in Song 5 is also a daytime occurrence. The deer group 9-12 is tabulated as nighttime because of explicit references in 11 and 12, but only by guess in regard to the problem Songs 9 and 10. The final deer group starts with an explicit reference to the coming of daylight and moves through a clearly marked sunshine series terminated with the sunset in Song 16.

Cow Songs 1-8 are classed as daylight, 9-11 as nighttime, and 12 as daylight again. The evidence is as follows:

(a) Color references in Song 1 and 6 ('green' and 'buckskin' respectively).

(b) The absence of cowboys and presence of "countercowboys" in 9-11.

(c) Song 11, tabulated as nighttime, has a "daytime" color word, namely, 'green' (said metaphorically in reference to the greenly flowering 'ends' of the prostitutes' songs). This challenges our usual practice of determining time of day from color words. We note that this color word comes at the very end of the final nighttime song and may be seen as ushering in the daytime narrative of Song 12. Anywhere else in the song group, that color reference would have overturned our method.

(d) Song 12 is explicitly about daytime.

With the sets thus aligned, we see that night is a "good" time and day is a "bad" time for the animals of both sets and for the same reasons: (1) Predatory humans are afoot in the day (Deer Songs 5 and 8, Cow Songs 1-8), but not at night; and (2) "Irregular" humans are afoot at night (deer songs 9-12, cow songs 10 and 11), but not in the day.

Considering those constancies between the sets, what makes the deer's lot overall seem happier than the cow's? First, the cow set concentrates on daytime predations. They come first in the set and occupy fully two-thirds of its songs. Second, the deer set's second daytime period, covered in Songs 15 and 16, lacks any reference to human predation. The

deer is "on vacation" during that day with its horns merged with sunrays. Moreover, the predation that occurs in the deer set, in the first daytime period, is only *anticipated* in the final song (8) of that group. The four-song group tells a mixed adventure of the deer first fleeing people, then finding singing insects, and only then anticipating his death.

Let us test this system of day and night against the other available deer sets. Russell's four deer songs concentrate on the chasing of a deer. The set commences with a deer standing in shadows—a daytime indicator (1908:317). This set conforms.

Underhill's first deer set (1946:89-92) starts with a reference to a mirage, a daytime phenomenon. It proceeds into a tale of a hunt with references to the daytime colors green and blue (actually the same word in Piman). We judge this set of 14 songs to be entirely daytime. Like Russell's far shorter one, its outcome is unhappy for the deer. Underhill's second set (92-94) commences with a daytime color (yellow) and proceeds into a hunt where flying crows are mentioned. Crows are daytime fliers. This narrative, too, appears to take place entirely in daytime and again the outcome is unhappy for the deer. Her third set (94-95) has only three songs, which are of interest because they take the hunter's point of view entirely. They shift from "we" to "I," but these first person references appear to be to hunters rather than to deer. The first song has a nighttime reference ("And beneath us that light we shall see"). Subsequently there is a hunt, but there are no external indicators as to what time it is. Her fourth set (95-96), also of three songs, is from the deer's perspective and is unhappy, but it is without any clearcut day or nighttime indicators.

The deer and cow sets given in this paper are more complex than any of the above. They take the animals through more day and night cycles. They orchestrate more moods in a more complex and yet demonstrably structured manner. They were chosen for analysis precisely in order to demonstrate what long Piman sets are capable of.

What do the songs tell us about hunting in Piman culture? Specifically, what does *hunting* have to do with *singing*? A remarkable point about these complex sets when viewed as hunting literature is that they insist on describing both nighttime and daytime events. Hunting proper (or rounding up cattle) is a strictly daytime incursion by men into the landscape of wild (or semi-wild) animals. We might readily pass over that fact were it not for the sets' insistence that the whole story of a hunted animal's 'way' should include nighttime as well as daytime segments.

The question then becomes, according to Piman culture as revealed in these documents, what human activity of the night counterbalances the hunters' incursions of the day? The answer is, singing songs of the 'way.' If we are correct in this, we have found something distinctive in the

configuration of Piman hunting culture. Certainly the hunters and cowboys of the surrounding non-Indian cultures do not view their work in this manner. But is it true?

The sound of singing started the deer on its journey. The singing of counterhumans gave the cows solace in the night. It need only be added that ceremonial deer hunts are preceded by a night of singing, and that the singing of cures for deer and cow sickness is normally done at night. This then is the full picture of Piman hunting culture, that men afflict animals in the day (there can be no question from the sets that hunting and rounding up are viewed as afflictions) and compensate by singing songs from them in the night.

We can now better see why a major Piman hunting literature is in the unlikely (to Anglo-Americans) form of song. Song, the lingua franca of the intelligent universe, is the "other side" of hunting; it is a piece of the phenomenon that at first we thought it was about.

NOTES

1. The coauthors of this paper brought different skills to bear on it. They came together on the subject of songs in 1976. Manuel Havier, a Papago, sang the deer and cow sets. He has been singing songs for Bahr, a white anthropologist, since 1973, but more intensively since 1976 when Bahr decided to take up songs in earnest with Joseph Giff's help. Giff is a Pima.

Havier is a man of few spoken words at this stage in his life as a master singer. In this he is like other Piman singers who seem to have songs on their minds most of the time, and to speak very little. He was not asked to pass on the interpretations in this paper, but was simply asked for his approval to be listed as coauthor in a publication aimed primarily at whites. Havier's skill, in short, is the learning and singing of songs. He keeps scores of sets of curing songs in his mind, is able to call them up on a few minutes notice, and is able to sing them through flawlessly.

Giff and Bahr discussed the two sets of Havier's songs in the course of nearly weekly meetings from 1976 to the present. The meetings have been devoted to a variety of musical topics. Bahr chose to build a paper around these two sets out of the great many songs from various singers that he and Giff have discussed. Giff's poor eyesight prevented him from reading a final draft of the paper. It was written by Bahr and read to Giff for his approval. He does not necessarily stand behind every word of interpretation although he didn't reject any of it. The interpretation is best taken as Bahr's work, which could not have been done without Giff's comments and explanations and without the songs of Havier.

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2. English words enclosed in single quotes are literal translations from Piman. The alphabet used in writing Piman is discussed in some detail in Bahr, Gregorio, Lopez, and Alvarez (1973). If the reader pronounces all the vowels except *e* as in Spanish, he will not be far wrong. *E* is pronounced as in English *cool*, only with the lips straight instead of rounded.

3. By "literature" we mean "a body of knowledge cast in language and preserved through time." Cultures such as the Pimans, prior to writing, have preserved their knowledge almost solely through memorization. There are three main genres of memorized Piman oral literature, prose myth, chant, and song. The claim that the song genre is the

prime vessel for preserving knowledge about hunting comes down to a search for "hunting content" among texts of the three genres. Song wins.

It is felt that the above is an appropriate definition for literature. A corollary is that people have vast amounts of knowledge not formed as literature. This is as true of people without writing as of people with it. Literature does not equal knowledge.

4. The word "set" is used in preference to "cycle" because the former is neutral as to organizing or structural principles. Something circular is implied by "cycle," presumably in opposition to something linear. It is not clear to Bahr what makes a cycle a cycle, or how this term ought to be used in comparative studies.

5. Cures are performed for the 'ways' of 'dangerous objects.' It is considered that the patient's earlier trespass on a 'way' is what made him or her sick. Jimsonweed, deer, and cow are all classed as dangerous objects, as are about thirty other kinds of thing, mostly animal and plant species. In essence a set of curing songs is a disquisition on the 'way' that is sickening the patient. The songs are understood to have originated in members of the species of dangerous objects and to have been given to humanity for the sake of curing the 'way's' sickness. When the songs are sung, a spiritual representative of the 'way' is believed to hear them and to release the patient from his symptoms.

6. The key to this process would be to determine from the shape of a word in song language, the probable number of beats that the word would receive in singing. A given Piman word may receive various numbers of beats depending on the song it is in. Thus, 'jimsonweed' might appear in six beat or four beat form. A given song tends to form all of its words to a constant beat, or "measure," length. An example of how this works is in the Bahr and Haefer paper. It is our impression that the word shapes written in Russell are accurate enough to yield to this kind of reconstruction. Bahr and Giff have checked some of Russell's transcriptions against contemporary versions of the same songs, and in nearly every case the transcriptions are so accurate, syllable by syllable, to seem to have been written yesterday. This testifies both to fineness of Russell's ear (or perhaps more importantly to the ear of his native linguistic assistant, Jose Lewis Brennan), and to the thoroughness with which Pimas memorize their songs.

7. If one wanted to use the word "cycle" in reference to a type of Piman song set, sets such as this one might be the most appropriate.

8. Bahr has not recorded any actual cures twice. Havier has only been asked to sing one set twice in sessions for the recorder. He sang it in the same order. Sets of up to 16 songs are likely to be fixed in that manner. When the number gets higher, which is rare for curing songs, it is a different question. One Pima, for instance knows over 200 of a non-curing type of song, far more than he would use on one occasion. He organizes them in groups but does a good deal of picking and choosing when singing a group.

9. *Muwali*, here translated as 'bee' means both 'bee' and 'fly' in Piman. Some speakers now use the Spanish loan word *pana:l*, from *panal*, 'honeycomb,' for bee. Others use *muwali* for both kinds of insect. In the present song, 'yellow bee/fly' must certainly refer to honey bees, while the 'green bee/fly' of the Papago jimsonweed songs probably refers to what are called "houseflies" in English. It is difficult to guess what kinds of buzzing creatures are referred to by the Papago songs 'grey,' 'spotted,' and 'many colored' bees/flies.

10. If this set used splitting, Songs 9 and 10 probably would be split versions of one song. They differ only in one word. According to Underhill, such songs were used primarily for deer *hunting* (1946:89), which just might place them in a different category from deer *curing* songs. If so, 9 and 10 may be imperfectly assimilated members of the present deer curing set and may derive, like the Pima jimsonweed songs, from a set whose primary use was for a ceremonial deer hunt.

11. Syllables in the English translation do not correspond with those of the songs; consult the Appendix to see how this is the case.

12. Songs are usually sung in subgroups of four with a rather long pause for ritual 'blowing' and then for relaxed conversation between each subgroup. See Bahr, Gregorio, Lopez, and Alvarez for a discussion of singing and blowing in ritual cures.

13. It is not the case that devils only afflict men and prostitutes only afflict women. Either "bad" sex may afflict anybody.

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APPENDIX

Pima Jimsonweed Songs

Russell's orthography has been slightly simplified below for ease in typesetting. It is still more complex than that which would be used today to write the same songs. We have not tried to "correct" his spellings.

Song 1

Tohaiva siyali kukim
 s-toha si'alig ke:k
 WHITE MORNING STANDS

Tohaiva siyali kukim
 s-toha si'alig ke:k
 WHITE MORNING STANDS

kuta	nyi	worsanyuk	hi-im
ke:da	an	wu:saŋk	him
JUST THEN I	ARISE	AND	GO

Tcutangi yondany kuŋgusim
 s-cehedagi hu:duŋig gei
 GREEN EVENING FALLS

Tcutangi yondany kuŋgusim
 s-cehedagi hu:duŋig gei
 GREEN EVENING FALLS

kuta	nyi	worsanyuk	hi-im
ke:da	aŋ	wu:saŋk	him
JUST THEN I	ARISE	AND	GO

Song 2

kotundami ya-ahañgu
 kotdopi ha:hak
 JIMSONWEED LEAVES

kotundami ya-ahañgu
 kotdopi ha:hak
 JIMSONWEED LEAVES

konyitcoma hoñgiyok
 kuñ cem hugyok
 AND I JUST EAT AND

nontahangu
 noḍagk
 GET DIZZY

rsakali mumulihimu
 şakal meḍ
 STAGGERING RUN

kotundami yosiñgu
 kotdopi hiosig
 JIMSONWEED FLOWER

kotundami yosiñgu
 kotdopi hiosig
 JIMSONWEED FLOWER

tcoma hiyoku
 cem i:yok
 JUST DRINK AND

navahamo
 navam
 GET DRUNK

rsakali mumulihimu
 şakal meḍ
 STAGGERING RUN

Song 3

kakato	kuviholi	yonamu	nyoita-a
ga:t	viholi	o'odham	ñ-oid
BOW	KEEPING(?)	MAN	ME FOLLOWS

hiyavo nyiahu
 i:ya ñ-ai
 HERE ME REACHES

vatony mumoak
 vat o ñ-mua
 HE WILL ME KILL

inyi wopa
i ñ-wua
HERE ME THROW DOWN

hitany yahañga
i:da ñ-a'ag
THERE MY HORNS

hikomiaka rsoliñga-a
hikiomk sul
CUT OFF AND THROWS

vapako	kuviholi	yonamu	nyoita-a
va:pk	viholi	o'odham	ñ-oid
ARROW	KEEPING(?)	MAN	ME FOLLOWS

hiyavo nyiahu
i:ya ñ-ai
HERE ME REACHES

vatony mumoak
vat o ñ-mua
HE WILL ME KILL

inyi wopa
i ñ-wua
HERE ME THROW DOWN

hitany nonhavia
i:da ñ-nonhoi
THESE MY FORELEGS

nikomiaka rsoliñga-a
hikiomk sul
CUT OFF AND THROWS

Song 4

momovali notakimu
mumuwali noḍagim
FLIES DIZZY

momovali notakimu
mumuwali noḍagim
FLIES DIZZY

katoho miawaka
gd hu iawak
THERE SPILL OUT AND

hamo yanaki taimhu-u
am o a:ngew
THERE BEAT WINGS

Song 4

yokimali navakohi
 hokimal naukoi
 BUTTERFLIES DRUNK

yokimali navakohi
 hokimal naukoi
 BUTTERFLIES DRUNK

katoho miawaka
 gɔ hu iawak
 THERE SPILL OUT AND

hamo tapai kimu-u
 am o ta:p
 THERE SPLIT

Deer Songs

The deer and cow songs below are written to show their beats. The ictus points represent the beats of the underlying tempo of the song. Syllables are written below the ictus points to show for how many beats they are held. This method of writing is discussed at some length in Bahr and Haefler 1978. The Pima junsonweed songs could not be written this way because Russell did not record rhythm or beats. It is really quite easy to do so and when it is done phenomena of song form and song language become much easier to discuss.

Melodies are not transcribed for the same reason that they were omitted in the Bahr and Haefler paper, to preclude the full reproduction of the songs. For the same reason, cassette recordings have not been supplied. Specialists wishing to work with this material should contact Bahr for access and permission.

Song 1

ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ
 ñe nei weʒo ne ka bewoi wa
 ñeñ'eí ʒonk ab wo'iwa
 SONGS START AT LIE

ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ
 ñe nei weʒo ne ka bewoi wa si
 ñeñ'eí ʒonk ab wo'iwa
 SONGS START AT LIE

ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ
 deñeba bai we ye he me pi mu li ne
 eɟaɳ-bahi hemapa i ul
 THEN MY TAIL SEPARATES

ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ
 mo cu cu ko holaiaí m
 am cukulhim
 THERE BLACKENS

Song 2

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ga mu ha wañino no wa ɲe
 gam hu hawañ tu'ag
 AWAY CROW MOUNTAIN

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ga mu me kosiwa hamoka kaita ne
 gam hu me:ko si wa:m kakaidag
 AWAY FAR GREATLY SOUNDING

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 a meɲewui ñemohi me da he
 am heg wui añ am him
 THERE THAT TOWARDS I GO

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ʂo ʂo na hanejewedasiyo hoina an
 ʂont an jewed si s-am ho:ho'idam
 START AT LAND VERY DELIGHTFUL

Song 3

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ʂa cu wu de hiyo sige
 ʂa:cu wuɖ hiosig
 WHAT IS FLOWER

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ga hui we me ka bo to no ihime e ne de
 ga hu'i me:k ab o tonolhim
 AWAY FAR AGAINST SHINES

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 yeneho hoi wehiyo si ge
 eɖa ho'i hiosig
 YET THORN FLOWER

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 a meɲe wui ñe mi memeli hime
 am g wui añ memelhim
 THERE TOWARDS I RUN

Song 4

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 e yu hamedo warɲ
 u'am tu'ag
 YELLOW MOUNTAIN

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 damai ge yu si wu sa ñi me
 da:m g u:s wu:sañ
 ON TOP TREE COMES OUT

' ' ' ' ' '
 kuña moñi wa keñei ne
 kuñ am ji:wiak ñeid
 AND I THERE ARRIVE AND LOOK

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ida ñi ya hakemi we da ji
 i:da ñ-a'ag am hiwhuñ
 THIS MY HORNS THERE SCRAPE

' ' ' '
 waño si kai moki
 wañ si s-kaimuk
 I VERY WANT TO HEAR

' ' ' ' ' ' '
 yeda bomiwehe ne n
 ñ-eda ab hiwhuñ
 INSIDE ME SCRAPES

Song 5

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ga mu ci wo po hime
 gam ac wo:po
 AWAY WE RUN

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ga mu ci wo po hime e
 gam ac wo:po
 AWAY WE RUN

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 yo namese mai no ke wo po hime e
 o'odham s-e:bidk wo:po
 PEOPLE AFRAID AND RUN

' ' ' ' ' '
 wa su nanewaikito towar
 wa:s hu nanaok tu'ag
 AWAY SHINING MOUNTAIN

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 dademanebahebaiwewipino dai me n
 da:m g ba:bhai widiqut
 ON TOP TAILS SWING

Song 6

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 se bai weṣu na ka me
 shebai sonkam
 SOMEPLACE ORIGIN

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 da ma nojijiwi ihi me
 da:m ji:wia
 ON TOP ARRIVE

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 mu mui hoho ki ma le ŋia ha je
 mu'i hohokimal ŋ-iaj
 MANY BUTTERFLIES NEAR ME

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 iyo waŋiya ha ge bo ŋihi we n
 i:yowa ŋ-a'ag ab ŋe'e
 HERE MY HORN AT SING

Song 7

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ga dugayu si hiyo si ge
 gɔ hu g u:s hiosig
 FAR TREE FLOWER

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 sa miweye desiyu hamemumuwalifnei yo pa ke
 s amhiwa eɖa si s-u'am mumuwalifneyopa
 THREE THEN YELLOW BEES POUR OUT

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 iyo waŋida maiweku hune e
 i o wa ŋ-da:m kuhu
 HERE ME ON HOOT

' ' ' ' ' '
 do kiŋemu wa liŋ
 ɖ o ki ŋ-muwalif
 IT IS MY BEE

' ' ' ' ' '
 ceneku hune n
 c in kuhu
 AND HERE HOOTS

Song 8

' ' ' '
 nametofnemua kai
 nampto ñ-muakai
 WILL YOU ME KILL

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 gamu wewe si ko we kai nakime
 gamhu wesko kaidaghim
 AWAY EVERYWHERE SOUNDS

' ' ' ' ' '
 soi galiffe he de
 so'ig ñe'i
 SAD SONG

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 gamu wawe si ko we ya ha cosi ba ñime n
 gamhu wesko a'aj si:bañ
 AWAY EVERYWHERE THIN SPRINKLE

Song 9

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ga mu wa wo po hime
 gam hu wa wo:po
 AWAY RUNNING

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ga mu wa wo po hime
 gam hu wa wo:po
 AWAY RUNNING

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 kuñiyoi deñe moñulina ahi me
 kuñ g oidkam ñ-ul
 AND I FOLLOWING HOLD MYSELF

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ya koña ñi wua ka ñei
 ha'ahog iñ-wuak ñeid
 AROUND ME TURN AND LOOK

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 mui taya ha aki ma sa hi m
 mu'i t-a'ag am a sa him
 MANY OUR HORNS GO

Song 10

ga mu ci wawañi hime
 gam aj hu wawañhim
 AWAY STRETCHING

ga mu ci wawañi hime
 gam aj hu wawañhim
 AWAY STRETCHING

kuñiyoi dene moñulina ahi me
 kuñi g oidkam ñ-ul
 AND I FOLLOWING HOLD MYSELF

ya koña ñi wua ka ñei
 ha'ahog i ñ-wuak ñeid
 AROUND ME TURN AND LOOK

mui terjo o ŋo oki ma ʒa hi m
 mu'i t-o'o ko wa ʒa him
 MANY OUR BACKS GO

Song 11

yu ha wi me he me ne ke
 huawi meḍka'i
 DEER RUNS AND THEN

mu wa ba ñi wa ñi me hene ke
 gm hu ab ñ-wañmeḍk
 AWAY ME LEADS

tunecu ka gi keñio ke te
 gdhucuhug eḍ ñiok
 NIGHT IN TALKS

mañeyoi da koi ñiwa ñi me hene n
 c g oidk ñ-wañmeḍ
 THROUGH IT ME LEADS

to ta si yebai je do ye we de
toha si hebaijed hewet
WHITE FROM SOMEPLACE WIND

kewa si cuṇa me yoine kohime ko ñei de si
ge si cuhug oidam himk o ñeid
JUST NIGHT THROUGH GO AND SEE

ya ŋiŋo ŋokye doɪye wehe sewibiji hi we
 i:yañ-go:k eɖ hewel wipiji
 HERE MY TRACKS IN WIND TWISTS

ki yo wa se ma me cime n
ko wa s-ma:cid
WILL KNOW

si	ya	li	si	to	ho	ta	mowu	waa	kime
si'al			si	to:	tam		wuw	hakhim	
MORNING			WHITE				COMES	OUT	

a me ñe ke we pe ju moñu li naa hime
amjed g we:co ñ-uliñ
THEN BELOW HOLD MYSELF

i	dañeba	ba	hi	ba	haa	ge	ya	ha
ida	ñ-bahi			ba'ag			a'an	
THIS	MY TAIL			EAGLE			FEATHER	

ne wepo we cu hige n
wepo cu'ig
LIKE IS

Song 14

i yato ñeme lito ke
 i:ya at ñ-melidok
 HERE RAN UP TO ME AND

i yacu meñu wa pa he
 i:ya cem ñ-uapa
 HERE BRING ME

i yato ñeme lito ke
 i:ya at ñ-melidok
 HERE RAN UP TO ME AND

i yacu meñu wa pa he
 i:ya ñ-uapa
 HERE BRING ME

ta şai tonelikewañepi na koņoke
 taş tonlig ko wañpi na:kogok
 SUN SHINES AND I CAN'T STAND IT

huwa wi na hanake
 huawĩ na:nk
 DEER EARS

wa cumoşai si kunedai m
 wa cem şa'i sikoldahim
 JUST TURN CIRCLES

Song 15

ña ha ŋeceweli ku deno waņesa
 ñ-a:hali cewelikud tu'ag sam
 LITTLE LENGTHENER MOUNTAIN

meyeda ma noke kiwa
 hu'ida:m ke:kiwa
 ON IT STAND

ge ña ha ŋece we li hime
 g ñ-a'ag cewelhim
 MY HORNS LENGTHEN

ga	mu	ñehi	mihí
gam	hu	nt a	him
AWAY	I	GO	

meta sai si siwu
eda tas sisiwuda
THEN SUN RAYS

de ña a ñeku ku ka boku ku ñuwa n
 ñ-a'ag ku:kug ab ku:kugwa
 MY HORNS TIPS AT STOP

Song 16

ta şai wehi me da me
taş himdam
SUN GOER

wa site me bai dam
wa si s-ta-e:bidam
FRIGHTENING

cu	hai	ka	jiga	mhu	wehu	hu	nu	uñe
cu'ig			c gam	hu	wa	huduñim		
IS			AND AWAY		SETS			

1 1 1 1
 ʃaŋu ŋijuu u ho ke
 ʃaŋ hui ŋ-ju:ka'i
 WHAT I DO?

gamu wemeko weje we
gam hu me:k jewed
AWAY FAR LAND

da bohimihi me n
ab him
TO GO

Song 17

gahuwe we to no way
gahu ge tuag
AWAY MOUNTAIN

ke mai sa pi me
ge'e ma'isapahim
COVERING

gahuwe	we	to	no	wan
gahu ge		tuag		
AWAY		MOUNTAIN		

ke mai sa pi me
ge'e ma'isapahim
COVERING

i nowa^hnewo po we sa sa gi de
in hu ñ-wo:po sa'ašgid
HERE MY FUR BETWEEN

ge si cu hu ka me wa a wa ki me
ge s-cuhugkam wa:kim
DARKNESS ENTERS

Song 18

wa ñoi pi mumu ki mi me de
wañ oiya pi mumkim him
I THEN NOT SICKLY GO

wa ñoi pi mumu ki mi me de
wañ oiya pi mumkim him
I THEN NOT SICKLY GO

ga	mo	si me	kona mo	si	hiwai	weyewedamedo
gam	hu	si me:k		siw	hewel	tu'ag
AWAY		FAR		BITTER	WIND	MOUNTAIN

wakewu huwi ñehi me hene n
 wui añ him
 TOWARDS I GO

Song 19

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
ba	nai	we	hina	ki	me		
ban		wa	hihinnat				
COYOTE			HOWLS				

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
i	no	wa	tebi	ñemi	to	kahi	ne	kime			
in	hu	wa	t-bijimdahic			hihinnak					
THERE		US	CIRCLES	AND		HOWLS					

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
hai	ya	soi	ga	ñima	ha	ma	de
haiya		so'ig		ñ-mammad			
ALAS		POOR		MY	CHILDREN		

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
ga	maicu	mo	gejo	ke			
yamai	cem		gegoki				
THERE			STAND				

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
cina	ha		na	kenaiyoiyopime							
c	in	hu	na:nko	oiyopo							
AND			VARIOUS	WANDERING							

Cow Songs

The writing conventions used here are discussed at the beginning of the deer songs. It need only be added that some of these songs contain two-beat "pickups" prior to some lines. These tend to mark the commencement of subportions of the song text. Havier used them *ad lib*, sometimes present and sometimes absent in his repeated singings of a given song. They have meanings (are not nonsense syllables), yet they are clearly pickups in the sense that the "body" of a given line of song consists of pairs of four-beat words.

Song 1

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
ga	mu	me		me	ko	wa		wai			
gam	hu	me:k				waw					
AWAY		FAR				ROCK					

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
		ka	wo	na	ke	ke		e	ke		
		kawolk				ke:k					
		HILL				STANDS					

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
ga	me	me		me	ko	wa		wai			
gam	hu	me:k				waw					
AWAY		FAR				ROCK					

		ka	wo	na	ke	ke	e	ke	
		kawolk				ke:k			
		HILL				STANDS			
ga	no	we	we	ga	ji	je	we	doi	si
gan	hu	we:gaj				jewed		o	si
AWAY		AROUND				EARTH		VERY	
		ta	ta	ñi	mo	ka		ce	
		s-tadñim			o	ka:c			
		WIDE				LIES			
		we	si	koi	we	ce		do	ke
		wesko				s-cehedagi			
		ALL				GREEN			
		ke		de	ŋe	to		lo	
		k	eða		g	to:lo			
		JUST	THEN		THE	BULL			
		ya		hai	si	yoi		me	do
		a'ai			si	oimmed			
		BACK	AND	FORTH	WANDERS				
a	bi	ya	a	ŋe	e	ku	ku	ŋa	ŋe
ab	e-	a'ag				ku:kug		an	
ON	HIS	HORNS				ENDS			
		ša		wa	si	ce	do	ki	mo
		ša	o	wa	si	s-cehedagi			
		VERY				GREEN			
		hio			si	me			
		hiosim							
		FLOWER							
a	mo	ñe			he	de			
am	o	ñe'e							
THERE		SINGS							

Song 2

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 cu cu ke ka wo li ke
 s-cuck ka'akwol
 BLACK HILLS

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 cu u u ce
 cu:c
 STAND

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 cu cu ke ka wo li ke
 s-cuck ka'akwol
 BLACK HILLS

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 cu u u ce
 cu:c
 STAND

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 a bi sa sa ŋi te mu mui
 ab sa'aŋgid mu'i
 THERE AMONG MANY

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 hai wa ŋi oi yo o po
 haiwaŋ oiyo
 COWS WANDER

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ga dui wa pe kya li
 gđ hu'i wapkial
 FAR OFF COWBOYS

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ŋei yo pa ke wa to te
 ŋeiyo pak wat o t-
 COME OUT AND THEY WILL US

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ce ce ke
 ce:
 FIND

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 wu wi mo hi i i me
 wui am o hihim
 TOWARDS COME

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 oi ya we e bi no ke
 oiya wa e:bidk
 THEN FRIGHTEN

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
ga		mu	we	ko	ko	ma	de
gam		hu		kokomad			
AWAY				BUNCHED UP			

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
wo			poi	me			
wo:po							
RUN							

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
piya		to	li	ma		ma	ce				
pi at		al	e-	ma:c							
THEY		WON'T		KNOW							

Song 3

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
na	na	wai	ki	to	no	wa	ŋe
nanaok				tu'ag			
SHINING				MOUNTAIN			

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
ke	e	e	ke				
ke:k							
STANDS							

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
na	na	wai	ki	to	no	wa	ŋe
nanauk				tu'ag			
SHINING				MOUNTAIN			

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
ke	e	e	ke				
ke:k							
STANDS							

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
he		ma	ko	wa		kya	li
hemako				wakial			
ONE				COWBOY			

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
wu		wi	mo	hi	i	i	me				
wui			am	him							
TOWARDS				COMES							

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
a	no	we	we	ga	jo	bi	ji
an	o	we:gaj		i		me	ke
THERE		AROUND				CIRCLES	

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 mu mui we hai wa ŋi
 mu'i haiwaŋ
 MANY COWS

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 yoi yo o po
 oiyopo
 WANDER

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 a no sa sa ŋi toi yoi i me de
 an o sa'asgid oimmeɖ
 THERE AROUND WANDERS

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 we sa li ma a ma ce
 we:s al ma:c
 ALL KNOWS

Song 4

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 cu cu ke ka wo li ke
 s-cuk kawolk
 BLACK HILL

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ke e e ke
 ke:k
 STANDS

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 cu cu ke ka wo li ke
 s-cuk kawolk
 BLACK HILL

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ke e e ke
 ke:k
 STANDS

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ga gai we wa wa ha ŋe
 gahi wawaŋ
 ACROSS STRETCHES

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 a mi we pe cu ke mu mui we
 am we:co g mu'i
 THERE BELOW MANY

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
hai		wa	ñi	yoi	yo	ho	po		
haiwañ				oiyopo					
COWS				WANDER					

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'		
ga		tui		wa	pe	kya	li		
gđ		hu'i		wapkial					
FAR OFF				COWBOYS					

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'		
ñei	yo	pa	ke	wa		to	te		
ñei	yopak			wat		o	t-		
COME OUT	AND			WILL			US		

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'		
ce		ce	ke						
ce:									
FIND									

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
we		sa	li	te	ma	pa	te		
we:s		al	i	t-hemapa					
ALL				US GATHER					

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'		
he		ma	ko	wa		kya	li		
hemako				wakial					
ONE				COWBOY					

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
a	noi	ša	ša	ŋi	toi	yoi	me	de	
an	o	ša'a	sgid			oimmađ			
THERE		BETWEEN				WANDERS			

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'		
oi		ya	wa	ce	ce	no	ke		
oi	ya		wa	ce:					
THEN				FINDS					

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
ge		ge	de	na	ne	ka	me	hai	wañ
ge'eged				nankam				haiwañ	
BIG				EARED				COW	

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'		
wa		to	ñi	wu	pu	ne	ke		
wat		o	ñ-wu:						
HE WILL			ROPE ME						

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
ga	mai	to	ñi	wu		pa	hi		
gamai		at	hu	ñ-wua					
DOWN				THROW ME					

na ne ko ñi ju ñi hi me
na:nko ñ- juñhim
VARIOUS DO ME

Song 5

' ' ' ' ' ' '
su me ka me no no wa , ne
s-u:mugkam tu'ag
YUCCA MOUNTAIN

ke e e ke
ke:k
STANDS

su me ka me no no wa ɲe
s-u:mugkam tu'ag
YUCCA MOUNTAIN

ke e e ke
ke:k
STANDS

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
a	mi	we	pe	cu	ke	hai	wa ñi
am		we:co			g	haiwañ	
THERE		BELOW				COW	

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 dai wo ho ñe
 da'iwuṣ
 COMES OUT

ga mai yu si me me de
gamai hu si med
AWAY RUNS

go wo ke wa pe kya li
go:k wapkial
TWO COWBOYS

a le li lia ta no wi pi no ta
al e-liliat an wipidut
THEIR LARIATS SWING

ga mai hu si me me ko'
 gamai hu si me:k
 AWAY FAR

me me de
 meḍ
 RUNS

piya to li ya a ha he
 pi at al i a'ahe
 WON'T REACH IT

Song 6

sanemi ka me ka wo li ke
 s-hanamkam kawolk
 CHOLLA HILL

ke e e ke
 ke:k
 STANDS

sanemi ka me ka wo li ke
 s-hanamkam kawolk
 CHOLLA HILL

ke e e ke
 ke:k
 STANDS

a mi we pe cu wai yo
 am we:co waiyo
 THE BELOW BUCKSKIN

hai wa ñi dai wo o ñe
 haiwañ da'iwuḥ
 COW COMES OUT

ga mai yu si me me de
 gamai hu si meḍ
 AWAY RUNS

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 je we ne ku me ne
 jewed ku:bdag
 EARTH DUSTY

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 go o ke wa pe kya li
 go:k wapkial
 TWO COWBOYS

' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 ñei yo o pa
 ñeiyo pa
 COME OUT

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 a le li lia ta no wi pi no te
 al e- liliat an wipidut
 THEIR LARIATS SWING

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 wa to ñi wu pu ne
 wat o ñ- wu:
 THEY WILL ME ROPE

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 wa wai ko bi bia ke
 waikko bi:bi
 THREE TIMES WRAP

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 tele le tele le
 telele telele
 TELELE TELELE

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 bo kai je
 bo kaij
 IT SAYS

Song 7

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 wo wo ñe ka ce
 wo:g ka:c
 ROAD LIES

' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
 wo wo ñe ka ce
 wo:g ka:c
 ROAD LIES

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
a	mi	da	de	ma	no	mu		mui	
am		da:m				mu'i			
THERE		ON TOP				MANY			
		'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
		hai		wa	ñi	hi	i	hi	me
		haiwañ				hihim			
		COWS				GO			
'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
ga	me	me		me	ko	to		wa	ŋe
gam	hu	me:k				to:ta'ag			
AWAY		FAR				MOUNTAINS			
		'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
		cu		hu	ce				
		cu:c							
		STAND							
		'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
		wu		wui	mo	hi	i	hi	me
		wui			am	hihim			
		TOWARDS				GO			
		'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
		wa		to	wa	ya		ha	ke
		wat		o	wa	a'ahek			
		THEY WILL				REACH IT AND			
'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
a	mi	sa	sa	ŋi	to	wa		pa	ke
am		sa'aŋgid				wa'ap			
THERE		BETWEEN				ENTER			
		'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
		he		ma	ko	ka	wo	li	ke
		hemako				kawolk			
		ONE				HILL			
		'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
		go		ho	ke	wa	pe	kya	li
		go:k				wapkial			
		TWO				COWBOYS			
		'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
		ke	ŋo	ho	ke				
		gegok							
		STAND							
		'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
		hai		cu	sa	ñe	na	ho	ke
		ha'icu			sa	ñe:ñhog			
		SOMETHING				WATCH			

a	mi	we	pe	cu	e	mu	mui	we
am		we:co				mu'i		
THERE		BELOW				MANY		

hai	wa	ñi	oi	yo	o	po
haiwañ			oiyopo			
COWS			WANDER			

Song 8

he mu wo pe ko wa ni wu pu na he
hemhuwa wo:po ko wa ni- wupda
OF COURSE RAN AND ROPED ME

he mu wo pe ko wa ñi wu pu na he
hemhuwa wo:po pe ko wa ñ- wupda
OF COURSE RAN AND ROPED ME

no no wi ta no wu pu ne
nonowic ha-wupda
FRONT FEET ROPED

ga mai to ni wu pa hi me
gam hu ni-wupda
DOWN KNOCKED ME

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30
 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40
 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50
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 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720
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 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740
 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750
 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760
 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770
 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780
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 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850
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 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880
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 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900
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 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920
 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930
 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940
 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950
 951 952 953 954 955

Song 9

ko	ma	li	ke	no	no	wa	ne
komalk				tu'ag			
FLAT				MOUNTAIN			

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
me		ne	si	he	we	da	mo
am		eda		hewel			
THERE		INSIDE		WIND			

```

      '   '   '   '   '   '
kai      je  de
kaidag
SOUNDS

```


'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
ko	ma	li	ke	no	no	wa	ŋe
komalk				tu'ag			
FLAT				MOUNTAIN			

me ne si he we da mo
am eda hewel
THERE INSIDE WIND

' ' ' '
 kai je de
 kaidag
 SOUNDS

a nowewe we ɲa ji je we ne
an o we:gaj jewed
THERE AROUND EARTH

```

      '      '      '      '
ka          ci  me
ka:c
LIES

```

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
ke		de	ge	to		lo	si
k	g	eɔ̃	g	to:lo			si
JUST		THEN		BULL			VERY

' ' ' '
 sua ha ke
 şua^hak
 CRIES

ne	nei	we	kai	da	ke
neñ'ei		wa	kaidag		
SONGS			SOUND		

Song 10

ba	mu	de	wa	pe	kya	li	ci	no	yoi	yo	ho	po
bam		wuḍ	wap	kial			c	in	oi	yopo		
WHO	ARE	YOU	COWBOYS				AND	HERE	WANDER			

ba	mu	de	wa	pe	kya	li	ci	no	yoi	yo	ho	po
bam		wuɖ	wap	kial			c	in	oi	yopo		
WHO	ARE	YOU	COWBOYS				AND	HERE	WANDER			

ga	dhu	ge	je	we	na	mo	cu	pu	li	me	ko	lai	we	na	a	a	to
gd	hu	g	jewed				cupulim				kolhai		na:to				
AWAY			EARTH				SQUARE				CORRAL		MAKES				

we	sa	li	te	ma	pa	te
we:s	al	i	t-hemapa			
ALL			US GATHERED			

ke	da	ŋe	to	lo	we	ʃua	a	ke
k eḁa		g	to:lo			ʃuak		
JUST THEN			BULL			CRIES		

Song 11

yu	hu	wi	ñe	he	ta
u'uwi			ñe'e		
WOMEN			SING		

yu	hu	wi	ñe	he	ta
u'uwi			ñe'e		
WOMEN			SING		

ku	ña	mo	we	ma	ja	mo	ñe	e	e	ta
kuñ	am	o	we:maj		am	o	ñe'e			
AND I	THERE		WITH		THERE		SING			

do	kya	ce	pawiyu	u	dai	yu	hu	u	u
do	ki	a	ce:cpaowi	wuḁ		u'uwi			
IT IS			PROSTITUTE			WOMEN			

ñe	ñei	wa	ku	ku	ña	ne
ñe'i			ku:kug		an	
SONGS			ENDS		AT	

ša	wa	si	ce	do	gi	mo	hio	si	me
ša	wa	si	s-cehedagim				hiotahim		
VERY			GREENLY				FLOWER		

Song 12

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
ga	dhu	ge	je	we	na	mo	si	ko	li	to	no	lhi	me				
gd	hu	g	jewed		am	o	sikol			tonol							
AWAY			EARTH		THERE		AROUND			SHINES							

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
ga	dhu	ge	je	we	na	mo	si	ko	li	to	no	lhi	me				
gd	hu	g	jewed		am	o	sikol			tonol							
AWAY			EARTH		THERE		AROUND			SHINES							

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
ke		da	ne	to		lo	we	sua		ki	me						
k	eda		g	to:lo				suak									
JUST	THEN			BULL				CRIES									

'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
je		we	ne	ka		ci	me	we	si	koi	yu	ni	fi	hi	me		
jewed				ka:cim				we:sko				ugicifhim					
EARTH				LYING				ALL				SHAKING					

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- Brighten the corner where you are: Black and white urban hymnody [1909-75]. Mono. New World NW 224. 1978. Notes (bound in) by Anthony Heilbut and Harry Eskew, 6 pp., bibliog., discog., texts. Includes The Soul Stirrers, The Roberta Martin Singers, Marion Williams, George Beverly Shea, Homer Rodeheaver, Billy Graham London Crusade Choir, others.
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BOOK REVIEWS

Gourlay, Kenneth, compiler. *A Bibliography of Traditional Music in Papua New Guinea*. Port Moresby: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1974. (P.O. Box 1432, Boroko, Papua New Guinea.)

This is a beautifully conceived and executed piece of work, and all of us who work in Papua New Guinea are much indebted to Ken Gourlay and the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies for their efforts. For anthropologists and ethnomusicologists wishing the most up-to-date and comprehensive bibliography, this is the volume.

The bibliography is divided into two sections. The first lists some 275 sources alphabetically by author. Each source is then annotated in full with the page numbers and topic headings for relevant information. Plates and illustrations of importance and cross references (such as reviews) are also listed, and asterisks indicate whether the volume has been examined personally by the author or whether the information given is derived from other sources.

Three things are noteworthy about the first section. First, among the materials studied were all the major ethnographies of Papua New Guinea cultures. Gourlay has painstakingly gone through these monographs and sifted out all relevant references to instruments, song and singing styles, ceremonial and other musical contexts, ethnography and symbolism, mythology, and texts, and listed full page and cross references. Second, among the materials surveyed are also notes from recording jackets and liners, and general books that range from art and museum volumes that include photographs of instruments, to textbooks that have synthesized information. Third, Gourlay has pulled together all of the early writings, including the most esoteric and difficult to get German papers, and has given the first comprehensive annotations of what is contained in them.

The second section is a massive index of all of the above sources. This section is divided into seven very practical and usable subject headings: anthropology, ceremonies, dance, instruments, musicology, mythology, people and places. For each section there are further breakdowns of topic headings. Under "anthropology" for example, there are 50 topic headings ranging from "acquisition and trading" to "work." Under each of these both the references and the specific pages of relevance are given. The final subject heading, "people and places," performs the tremendously useful job of listing the names of all cultural, language, and geographic groups.

The publication of this bibliography is a major event in Oceanic ethnomusicology. Similar projects were undertaken long ago for other major cultural areas. Until the Gourlay volume all that existed for students of Papua New Guinea music were the bibliographic materials in Jaap Kunst's 1967 *Music in New Guinea*, and Wolfgang Laade's unpublished manuscript on Oceanic music and dance. With this volume, and Mervyn McLean's excellent 1977 *Annotated Bibliography of Oceanic Music and Dance* (published by the Polynesian Society and available from University of Hawaii Press), systematic research and comparison from the literature is greatly enhanced. The McLean volume, by the way, picks up a few Papua New Guinea, Torres Straits, and Solomon Islands references not in Gourlay (for instance, Laade's work) or published after it was compiled.

In sum, I find this volume not only a fine compilation of the Papua New Guinea literature, but also a model for ethnomusicological bibliographies. The organization of this book makes the information maximally accesable to students and scholars, no matter what their orientation or specific needs may be.

Strathern, Andrew. *Melpa Amb Kenan: Courting Songs of the Melpa People*. Port Moresby: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1974. (P.O. Box 1432, Boroko, Papua New Guinea).

During his tenure as director of the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, Ulli Beier has done a great deal to promote humanistic research and publication on the musical, visual, and literary arts of that country. The publication of this book derives from one of Beier's projects, a series of small volumes on "Traditional Poetry of Papua New Guinea." This volume was issued as number one.

The author, Andrew Strathern, is an anthropologist who has worked with Melpa people of the Mount Hagen area since 1964. Until recently he was chairman of the anthropology department at the University of Papua New Guinea. His work on the Melpa is well known and well represented in the literature on highland peoples of Papua New Guinea. While *Melpa Amb Kenan* can be enjoyed by itself, I found that I would have lost a lot without the familiarity of Strathern's *Rope of Moka* (1971) and *Self-Decoration in Mt Hagen* (1971), written with Marilyn Strathern (also an anthropologist with extensive experience in Melpa).

The bulk of the book is taken up with texts, with Melpa and English on facing pages. For each text there is a brief explanatory note. Of the texts, 22 are *Amb Kenan*, (courting songs), 12 are *Mølya* (songs discussing preference for courting partners), 2 are *Werl* and *Mør* (sung at dances of *Moka* ceremonial exchanges), and 4 are *Ka* (funeral songs and laments). The purpose of these last two sections is to show the contrast between songs of love and gaiety and more "serious" Melpa texts.

Amb Kenan are sung at night in the context of visitations by men to the houses where young women and their mothers reside. The songs coax the girls to come out from a side compartment of the house to where the men are. Then, the men and girls sit around together until dawn, singing and joking. While a group of men sing, a couple goes through a stylized routine that involves turning their faces toward each other, meeting the nose and brows, then turning again to make contact on the cheeks, and ducking their heads down to the floor. In between these routines men change places throughout the night so that partners are continually shuffled. The *Mølya* songs are sung by girls as a reply, stating a preference for a particular man. By singing these and then following a man to his place the next day, a young woman expresses her desire to marry a man, and this leads to the process of a man negotiating and then gathering bride payment.

Strathern notes that the motifs for these songs are formulaic and traditional; in the context of a particular courting session they are reshaped using new place names and new phrases whose purpose is to make them convincing to the addressee. They are passed about freely among singers and listeners, and knowledge of old and new reworkings of motifs spread and travel rapidly.

The texts are short (none longer than 12 lines), and the *Amb Kenan* images

convey the coaxing ("Up the steep hill of Mbite I've come./ Must I go down it alone") and the *Mølya* the response ("Wait and I'll bring my rain mat for you, Let us go together.") There are frequent references in the *Amb Kenan* to love magic, and Strathern notes that this goes along with the practice of introducing these items into face paint or cigarettes to try make a partner more receptive. Several of these involve interesting metaphors about fireflies and glowing brightness, and these same symbols are echoed in the *Mølya*. These make for particularly interesting poetic lines in the context of the event, which takes place in a dark interior lit by the low glow of fires.

While the inclusion of the *Werl*, *Mør*, and *Ka* texts are interesting, I feel that there are not enough of them to give the reader a comparable sense of the genres when contrasted with the *Amb Kenan* and *Mølya*. After studying them all one is at a loss as to just what Strathern means when he notes that these later styles are more "serious" than the former. Part of the answer is certainly in the previously mentioned books, but given the information that one can get from just the texts I'm not really sure that their inclusion is helpful.

This gets to what I feel is the book's singular weakness, namely the introduction. This is only 5 pages long, and while it does include considerably more detail than my summary of the context of *Amb Kenan* and *Mølya* performance, it leaves out a tremendous amount. Even another 5 pages would have been sufficient to describe briefly several basic issues that are important to understanding the texts. For instance: Are these in a special poetic grammar or do they follow certain oral literary conventions different from usual Melpa speech? What is the relation between the composition of text and of melody? Are the musical frames also formulaic? Is there a special manner of performance in intonation and voice quality generally that Melpa associate with courting? Are these songs discussed and aesthetically evaluated in relation to specific canons of persuasiveness and/or verbal and musical prowess? Once a couple is married do the courting songs related to their union have a special meaning to them? Do men and women discuss the images in these songs and premeditate on them communally, or are they largely improvised from the existing frames and available images at the event? And since the texts are so short, one wonders whether they are repeated, through composed, verse and refrain, or structured in various other ways.

Even without the musicological component, I feel that inclusion of more ethnographic factors, relating to conceptualization, performance, and aesthetics would be valuable for the reader of these texts. The only flaw in Strathern's presentation for me is that such stylistic and ethnographic information does not appear in the introductory remarks. Nevertheless, the presentation and translation of these texts are a most welcome addition to the growing literature on song poetics in Papua New Guinea.

Chenoweth, Vida, Editor. *Musical Instruments of Papua New Guinea*. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1976. xii, 80 pp., maps, charts, photographs.

This book is a catalogue of musical instruments in Papua New Guinea, based on data supplied by missionaries working for the Summer Institute of Linguistics

during 1966 and 1967. It is not clear how many people contributed and how they gathered information about groups other than those they were working with. A map and list shows that between 1957 and 1969, 69 languages were being worked on, but it is not apparent how many people were engaged in work during the period that Chenoweth prepared and compiled the questionnaire. To my knowledge, Chenoweth is the only contributor who is an ethnomusicologist; the others are SIL fieldworkers whose interests are varied, some being involved in more academic work on Papua New Guinea languages, others concentrating principally on Bible translation. A good bit of the information comes from the Highlands and coastal areas. According to the map, it appears that there is little SIL activity in the Western Province (Dan Shaw began work there after the materials here were compiled), the Southern Highlands fringe, and the Gulf Province. With these exceptions then, the listings are representative of the bulk of the country.

The book begins with a brief introduction, summarizing instrument types and distributions. Then follow six sections: Idiophones, Aerophones, Membranophones, Chordophones, Toys, and Borrowed/Introduced. The format for each of these sections is the same, each page being sectioned into a chart with four columns. The column headings are (1) vernacular name, (2) language and province, (3) brief description, (4) usage. The information supplied in these last two columns ranges from as little as one word to as much as several sentences that are as thoroughly descriptive as possible given the organizational format.

The introduction has two problems. The first is that Chenoweth overgeneralizes from the data compiled in the book. While such generalizations may be valid for the material reported they do not take into account any other information. Thus, she notes that "unusual" rattle types are found, among other places, for the Fasu in the Southern Highlands. The item in question is a rattle constructed from crayfish claws. In fact, such rattles are not unusual, and are found throughout the Southern Highlands fringe and Western Province, as well as further down into the Gulf Province. Hence, the "unusual" nature of the rattle is only evidence of lack of data from the area.

A second problem concerns chordophones. Chenoweth states that "string instruments are rare in Papua New Guinea" and the "only one of any significance is the heterochordic mouth bow." This is a surface generalization that hides a larger problem. Namely, many Papua New Guinea cultures report that although they currently have jaw's harps, these instruments were introduced by other groups and in playing style and social function replace the monochordic mouth bow. In Bosavi, during 1976-77, for instance, there were no mouth bows in use, although everyone remembered them and pointed out that they were used until the Huli highlanders introduced jaw's harps into the area. The terminology, conceptualization, and use of the two were quite similar. Such accounts are hardly uncommon, and although it is quite true that one can consider string instruments as "rare" at the moment, the probability is quite high that they were very significant in a number of places.

In short, while the introduction speaks for the data in the book, it is not particularly strong as a scholarly exposition of instrument types and distribution in Papua New Guinea. While it is unfair to be overly critical of generalizations given the author's caveat that the catalogue is not intended as exhaustive, I find that some of the statements could have been more carefully worded or historically contexted, particularly since this is the first book of its type and bound to be much used as an introduction to the topic.

As for the descriptive section, the quality varies. The general descriptions seem to be written much from the point of view of the most common qualities found in the highlands. While Chenoweth's own expertise is greatest in this area, I find it unfortunate that variations are presented largely as less usual patterns. If the SIL were situated in the hub of the Southern, Western, and Gulf areas this might likely be presented differently. In all fairness however, I should state that such a trend is common to Papua New Guinea ethnography generally, since the highlands have captivated the attention of researchers most completely and thoroughly, and many tend to interpret other patterns as variations and deviations of the basic highland model.

I am also concerned, in this section, about inaccuracy resulting from second and third level reporting. For instance, in the membranophone section, under drums, it is reported that in Bosavi, Southern Highlands, there is a drum termed *ĩĩpi*, that is conical with a pedestal. Nothing is given under usage. In fact, both the term and the description are wrong. The term is *ilib*, and the drum has no pedestal. No SIL people have worked in Bosavi, but an SIL team did work with Fasu, a few days walk on the other side of the Kikori. Presumably this information came from that team, via questioning Fasu about Bosavi instruments. (No other Bosavi instruments are reported in the other sections). It is easy to see how inaccuracies could result from this method of data gathering. Examining the total number of language groups listed, and comparing this with the number of places SIL teams worked in the field gives me the distinct impression that the above example is not idiosyncratic.

In conclusion, I think that the real problem with this book is intent. Chenoweth seems to intend it to be a scholarly work by organizing it along the lines of the Sachs-Hornbostel classification, and directly stating that the linguistic and geographic information will serve as an "invaluable aid" to anthropologists and ethnomusicologists involved in research. Clearly it is difficult to produce such a scholarly work when the sources of information are so diverse and tangential to many of the data gatherers. While I have no doubt that time is right for a major synthesis on musical instruments in Papua New Guinea, I think that Chenoweth should have either made this a nonscholarly catalogue, or have written a scholarly synthesis of all of the data available to her. To do either of these would have left no question as to the purpose and intended use. The present work, unfortunately, falls somewhere between these two, and as such, does not quite make it as either a general catalogue or a scholarly presentation.

de Coppet, Daniel, and Hugo Zemp. *'Aré'aré: un peuple mélanésien et sa musique*. Paris: Seuil (Collection les jours de l'homme), 1978. 127 pages, photographs, recording on plastic disc in rear sleeve.

This is an unusual and beautiful book, in content as well as design, and I hope it is quickly translated and published in English so that it can be enjoyed by a wider audience. Hugo Zemp is familiar to this readership for his articles on 'Aré'aré music ethnography in this journal (1978, 1979) and others (1971, 1972a, 1972b, 1973, among others) as well as for his many recordings of Solomon Islands music (three discs devoted to the 'Aré'aré were published in the Musée de l'Homme

collection, Vogue LDM 30104, 30105, and 30106). The work that these publications report has been carried out during field research that began in 1969; prior to this time Zemp was engaged in research in West Africa. Daniel de Coppet is an ethnographer who began research among the 'Aré'aré in 1963; it was at his invitation that Zemp went to Malaita and began his ethnomusicological studies there. Anthropologists working in Melanesia are familiar with Daniel de Coppet through his articles of funerary rites, exchange, ceremonial cycles, and mythology of the 'Aré'aré. Although they have previously collaborated on a film (with Crista de Coppet), this is the first major written collaboration of the two authors.

This book is notable not because it is a collaboration between an ethnographer and ethnomusicologist but rather because it is a collaboration between these two researchers and the 'Aré'aré people. With the exception of the final chapter, the text of the book is composed of direct quotations from 'Aré'aré people (from tape recordings translated by the authors, both of whom are fluent in the language and use it as the major means of communication in their field research). These textual passages consist of myths, songs, stories, and narratives, and are laid out alongside numerous color and black and white photographs (taken and captioned by the authors). The selection and organization of these photographs was also submitted to and approved by the 'Aré'aré.

This format is used for six chapters. The first of these, "La société: les outils et la musique," presents the myths of creation and of the origin of bamboo music. Among the many interesting features of these myths I was taken by the importance of bird sound; the *porare* bird (Purple Swamp Hen, *Porphyrio porphyrio*) and its relation to the origin of flute music is particularly striking given the importance attached to this bird and its loud night calls by people along the Sepik river in Papua New Guinea (as yet I don't know of any accounts relating the call of this bird to the flute music of that area, but given the prominence of origin myths involving birds in Melanesia, and the importance of flute music in the Sepik, it would be interesting to know if the calls are associated with vocal music, instrumental music, both, or neither.)

The second chapter, "L'amour des vivants et des morts," deals with the cycle of birth, marriage, and death. Song texts are given for a lullaby and love song, and there are detailed pictures of panpipes and other instruments associated with courtship and seduction, as well as instruments used for the diversion of musicians (open bamboo tubes struck against small rocks with hands and feet). These are contrasted with funerary lamentations.

The third chapter, "Les travaux et les jours," is an excellent presentation of ethnographic themes familiar to all who have worked in Melanesia—identification with locality, orientation to planting and harvesting, construction of gardens, exploitation of forest resources for homebuilding, and management of domestic pigs. Additionally it presents a text on travel by canoe. The photographs very nicely illustrate the contrast between orientation to mainland terrain and rain forest, and orientation to water.

The fourth chapter, "Les cycles des fêtes funéraires," presents an important Melanesian social occasion—funerals—and shows how feasting and gathering people together encourages exchange as a way of expressing sentiment as well as a way of distributing wealth. The photographs show people bringing and cooking taro and vegetables in steaming pits, and cooking and cutting pork, and are highly expressive both of the division of labor and the style of feast preparation.

This in turn sets up the context for the fifth chapter, "La musique des fêtes,"

which I find the most powerful in the entire book. Anyone who still thinks that "primitive" people don't verbally articulate aesthetic commentary would do well to study Warousu's superb passage on "Le pouvoir de la musique." And for those who continue to believe that non-literate people perform music simply, functionally, and matter-of-factly, the photograph on page 72 should prove liberating. I have rarely seen a photograph of any musician, from any culture, whose facial expression portrays such intense inspiration and deep emotional involvement in performing.

While it should not be surprising that people who make such interesting music have so much to say about it, ethnomusicologists have usually assumed that what *they* have to say is more interesting. This attitude has done much to perpetuate colonial ethnomusicology and little to communicate what most people feel about their music. It is comforting to know that there are humane people like Hugo Zemp who are willing to talk and listen to people in their own language, on their own terms, and present such information with respect and admiration. I find this chapter one of the most moving things I have seen or read about anyone's music.

The sixth chapter, "Le pouvoir par les échanges meurtriers ou pacifiques," returns to the themes of exchange, death, and politics. The concluding statement, "Pour une politique moderne," by the paramount chief Ariki Nono'ohimate Eerehau is a declaration concerning cultural integrity and preservation. It is a fitting finish to the 'Aré'aré texts to have this statement stressing the determination to maintain and stabilize cultural values in the post colonial era.

The final chapter, by de Coppet and Zemp, is successful because it avoids commentary on the 'Aré'aré texts and presents the direct perspective of the two authors. Following a historical overview there is an explication of musical order and social order as mirror constructions. The main theme here is that "Le plus remarquable, dans les échanges comme dans la musique, c'est la rigueur de la construction. Il n'y a pas de place pour l'improvisation. Au contraire tout fait humain, tout événement sonore, prend place dans un ordre et une cohérence très élaborés" (p. 117). The brief analysis here is consistent with the themes developed by Zemp in his two recent articles in this journal (1978, 1979). The concern the 'Aré'aré display over the structural details of feasts and ceremonies, and the organization of exchange, is the same concern they display regarding the social organization of music—both the organization of musical types, and the organization of polyphonic panpipe music.

The short disc included with the book presents examples of three of the four panpipe ensemble styles, wooden slit drums, bamboo tubes struck on rock, rhythmic slapping of water in a river game, funerary lament, and a paddling song for canoeing. All of these selections are cross-indexed directly to text and photographs in the book. The recordings, even on a plastic disc, are of the usual high quality that Zemp has produced; but the three discs of 'Aré'aré music cited above should really be listened to with the book in order to get a fuller picture of the musical styles.

Obviously I am very enthusiastic about the publication of this book. What is said and shown, and how it is said and shown is done with great respect for honesty. What Daniel de Coppet and Hugo Zemp report about the "rigueur de la construction" in 'Aré'aré social and musical process is also true of their own conceptualization and editing of this book.

Because of the costly nature of producing this sort of book, and the limited market (compared to most of what Seuil publishes), the price is high (about \$20). I

hope that this does not deter individuals and libraries from purchasing it, particularly since the royalties go directly to the 'Aré'aré cultural council.

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Giesen, Walter. *Zur Geschichte des buddhisten Ritualgesangs in Japan: Traktate des 9. bis 14. Jahrhunderts zum shōmyō der Tendai-Sekte*. Studien zur traditionellen Musik Japans. Band I. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1977. 355 pp., music, charts. In German with a brief (10p) summary in English.

The appearance of the first major study of Japanese Buddhist music in a Western language must be heralded as something of a milestone in Asian musical studies. That the first significant monograph on *shōmyō* (Buddhist liturgical chant) should be in German comes as no surprise, since for more than 25 years Germanic interest in Japanese traditional music has been high. The mere presence of Kataoka's important article on *shōmyō* in the German *MGG* suggests as much.

Walter Giesen's monograph, the first in Bärenreiter's *hogaku* series, treats an admittedly narrow cross-section of the subject. The author admits that the original design was much grander—a full treatise on Buddhist liturgical music in Japan—but as the subject unfolded to further and further investigation, the inevitable impossibility of the project began to reveal itself. His narrower focus, then, takes the form of an annotated translation and discussion of six historical Tendai treatises on chant, dating from the 9th to the 14th century.

Although these limitations are understandable, they are disappointing in that they make the author's work of necessity somewhat tentative. Giesen has fallen in line with the accepted predisposition that the Tendai tradition represents the oldest and most unaltered chant practice in Japan. Yet my inquiries into *shōmyō* have led me to believe that the practice of the Shingon sect, that other stronghold of chant tradition, reflects attitudes that are more ancient, particularly in regard to the philosophical foundations of the music and the role of music in liturgy. Furthermore, limiting the study to six ancient treatises leaves unmined the rich vein of information that can be secured from contemporary performance practices. A more carefully balanced survey of both Tendai and Shingon sources and a study of documents tempered by fuller treatment of contemporary practices could have

revealed a more comprehensive and more accurate picture of Buddhist ritual music, which is after all, what is suggested by the main part of Giesen's title—the only part that appears on the front cover of the book and on the circulated advertisements for the book.

Giesen is, however, less the party-man than one might expect. Much of the Tendai dogma about unchangeability falls to Giesen's axe. Perhaps the most valuable part of his study is the attempt to recreate ancient melodies by tracing forms of chants back to their original Chinese speech-tones and hypothesizing that melodic intervals were limited to a step above and a step below in ancient times.

All in all, Giesen has advanced the cause of Japanese musical scholarship greatly. The volume of material he has waded through in Japanese borders on monumental. His bibliography alone is significant for bringing more important sources together into a single list than have been published anywhere else, although Iwata Soichi, *Shōmyō kankei shiryō nenpyō* (1974) is missing, as are Kikumura Horihiro, *Bukkyō to Ongaku* (1976), and Fuse Josei, *Nikō Hōyō* (1977), the latter two perhaps too recent for inclusion. Perhaps the most useful section of the work is Giesen's massive six-page chart of *shōmyō* sources, both primary and secondary, mostly Tendai, but with a remarkable catholicity evident in the surprising number of related Shingon and *gagaku* sources. This is highly valuable spadework for future studies.

The *Zur* in Giesen's title is accurate: the book is a study towards a history of Buddhist liturgical music in Japan. It is only a beginning, and much is left to do. It is unfortunate that the book preserves and passes on some of the pro-Tendai predispositions of Kataoka Gido, Giesen's mentor. This allegiance to an inherited point of view, although understandable, is disappointing. The prominence of Tendai-orientation in *shōmyō* studies can only bear partial fruit, insofar as they tend to ignore the liturgical and philosophical foundations of the music.

Yet, for beginnings, it is an auspicious start. We now have at hand in a Western language more information on *shōmyō* than we have ever had. There is even a summary, albeit brief, in English at the end of the volume. The previous scholarship in the field of *shōmyō* has been impressive, but it has nearly all been done in Japanese. What has heretofore been an exclusively Japanese domain, parochial and insular, has now for the first time been opened up to the West. This is an achievement worthy of applause and notice across the entire field.

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Howard, Wayne. *Sāmavedic Chant*. New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1977. xxv, 572 pp. (typescript format), plates, music, bibliography, catalog of recordings, glossary, index. \$30.00.

This is a landmark musicological study of the venerable Sāmavedic chant traditions in India, based on field recordings made by the author in 1970 and 1971, but encompassing other material. "The sacred lore of the Aryans, who crossed the Hindu Kush mountains into Northwest India many hundreds of years before the birth of Christ, is brought together in four collections (*saṃhitās*) designated by the general term 'Veda' " (p. 1). Connected in various ways with the sacrifices, the

domestic ceremonies, and the religious speculation of the times, the hymns comprising the Vedas were transmitted orally by Brahman priests for thousands of years, and were not written until the tenth or eleventh century.

The first of the four collections, the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*, contains verses for sacrificial utterance. The third collection, the *Sāmaveda Saṃhitā*, consists of source verses, which are nearly all from the *Ṛgveda*, and songbooks (*gānas*) containing mostly the same verses, altered and notated for musical production. One division of Sāmavedic verses and songbooks is used by a Brahman priest in chanting alone to himself; the other is used for sacrifices rarely performed today. The study under review is mostly of that division of verses a priest recites to himself, but the introduction relates ritual schema (evidently drawn from the studies of previous scholars) that show the use of the sacrificial verses in complex rites.

The number of persons qualified to chant the Sāmaveda is small and diminishing. Only Brahman males may recite the Vedas; the Sāmaveda is ascribed to only a portion of these; and because in most regions of India today only a minority of Brahmans are able to make a living from their priestly work, many are not trained in their Vedic heritage. Two of the three Schools of Sāmavedic chant, the Rāṇāyāniya and Jaiminiya, are found only in South India, and "are dangerously approaching extinction" (p. 11). A third school, the Kauthuma, persists in Tanjore District (southern Tamilnad), and exists in a depressed condition in Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh in the north.

The three schools are distinguished in part by different notational systems. The Kauthuma school uses a numerical notation, and the Rāṇāyāniya and the Jaiminiya different types of syllable notation. In the written song texts of each of the schools, every chant is divided into units (*parvans*) demarcated by vertical lines, each to be sung in a single breath. In all the song text words differ somewhat from the words of the source verses.

Although this study (a PhD dissertation submitted to Indiana University) examines many musical aspects of all known Sāmavedic chant, its primary concern is to decipher the different systems of chant notation. Unprecedented in scope, the study deals with the notated texts of the three schools (some notated chants not available elsewhere are presented here in transliterated form); relevant Sanskrit treatises; previous studies by Western scholars; the author's photographs of finger and hand positions used by the priests as they chant; and an extensive body of recordings made by the author (catalogued in the Appendix along with Hindustani and Karnatik classical music also recorded by the author), as well as earlier recordings.

The meticulous musical transcription of chants takes up over 250 pages. This was an enormous task—not all the chants are so melismatic, but for one of the Nambudiri Brahman chants the author's transcription "shows at least 119 changes of pitch for the first two syllables of text" (p. 201). A useful 57 page glossary of foreign terms is similarly careful and thorough.

School by school the book explains the notational system, accommodating or refuting relevant Sanskrit treatises or studies by Western scholars, and in some cases tabulating attributes of the system. Presentations of the oral traditions follow, and include full description and analysis of finger and hand movements, as well as musical transcriptions and analyses. The notated *parvans* are then compared with transcriptions of the corresponding recorded passages to see what is regularly signified by the notations. The author's analyses have led to an interpretation of the notations radically different from those of previous scholars, and one that is unsupported by any Sanskrit literature.¹

The notational numbers and syllables of the Sāmavedic songbooks are called *svaras*. In Vedic literature *svara* refers to accent, while in the context of contemporary classical music *svara* refers to tone. Following an auxiliary Sanskrit treatise dealing with music, the *Nārādīya Śikṣā*, students of the Sāmaveda have generally attempted to link the notational numerals of the Kauthuma songbooks with the accents of source verses, and then attempted to formulate a scale or scales. Howard doubts the authority of the *Nārādīya Śikṣā*, pointing to the uncertainty of its date. He also notes that the Rāṇyāniya and Jaiminiya notational systems use notational syllables (as opposed to numerals), "which have not been connected in any way with (source verse) accentuation" (p. 37).

The author argues that for the notated Sāmavedic texts, "the word *svara* implies a musical phrase or motive—not necessarily only a single isolated tone" (p. 38). A later summary passage states:

Each chant consists of a certain number of standard phrases, part of a repertoire of melodic fragments constituting all of the musical material belonging to a certain style of singing. These phrases recur over and over again, in various patterns, to form the several thousand *sāmans*. This recurrence of melodic formulae is without doubt the *raison d'être* of the division into *parvans*, each of which corresponds to a specific musical phrase of motive. A melody-type is symbolized in the *gānas* by a particular syllable (in the case of the Rāṇyāniyas), a certain sequence of numerals (in the case of the Kauthumas), or a specific sequence of syllables (in the case of the Jaiminiyas). In the latter two cases it is not the individual numeral or syllable which symbolizes always a specific melody-type; rather it is the arrangement of the numerals of syllables within a *parvan* which determines its musical content. One *sāman* (chant) is distinguished from another according to the choices of melody-types made by the "composers," who were perhaps the *ṛsis* mentioned in the songbooks after the name of each chant. This technique of patchwork composition (centonization) is characteristic also of the ancient Hebrew chant and some of the oldest Gregorian chants, the Tracts . . . Several genres of oriental art music stem from a repository of melody types—the Indian raga, the Arabian maqam, the Syrian risqolo, and so on (p. 121-122).

Many examples of notated chants and transcriptions of corresponding musical passages support the relationship between notation and performance outlined in the above statements. This may, however, be a *de facto* relationship. The data presented do show that in northern Kauthuma chant one numeral in a particular *parvan* is realized as different degrees of the gamut, and that combinations of numerals sometimes correlate with general melodic contours. But the study reveals a great number of discrepancies between notation and practice, which the theory of centonization doesn't explain.

A large class of discrepancies has to do with a unit called a "sequence," which is fundamental to the author's analysis. In Kauthuma chant this term refers to the combination of a primary number, that is, one placed above the line of syllables, with one or more secondary numbers, which appear within the textual line. A Sanskrit treatise, the *Mātrālakṣaṇa* (about whose origin nothing is known save that it is comparatively recent) assigns time values to various attributes of the chants including many discrete sequences, which it defines and names. One of the significant discoveries presented in the book is that there are correspondences between somewhat flexible melodic motifs in performance and their respective numeral sequences in the notation, for example, Item 2, *Pratyutkrama* (type 21), p. 95.

For northern Kauthuma performances the transcriptions of recorded examples show that a chanter is somewhat consistent in his realizations of a particu-

lar sequence (even when it appears in different *parvans*), but there are often discrepancies from one performer to the next, as the author points out. Moreover, in the recorded sample of northern Kauthuma, by the author's own analysis, discrepancies in the realization of sequence outweigh correspondences. The four specimens of the sequence cited above generally agree, as do two examples of another. Four sequences distinguished by the *Mātrālakṣaṇa* however, are performed in about the same way, there is lack of uniformity among five others, and yet others are not performed as designated by the treatise (pp. 100-101). We find the same lack of adherence to sequence in the Tanjore Kauthuma style (p. 105, 113) and in the *Hāvīk Rāṇyāniya* (p. 132). The time values prescribed by the *Mātrālakṣaṇa* are rarely realized in either the northern or Tanjore Kauthuma style.

There is just enough correspondence between the notated numerals and the sung tones in the northern and southern Kauthuma styles to suggest that at some previous time numbers may have corresponded more regularly to scale tones, but that perhaps because of competing oral modes of transmission, tones have been added and omitted, and that although melodic bits specified notationally have been retained, they are realized at different points in the gamut than the notation would suggest. (That tones could be added or deleted is demonstrated by the very difference between the northern and southern Kauthuma gamuts—one with four tones, one with seven. Yet they use the same notational system.) An example would be Item 3, *Karṣaṇa* (type 123), p. 109. This notation suggests a conjunct three-tone descent beginning with the first or highest tone in the gamut. (The *Nārādīya Śikṣā* numbers tones in the gamut from high to low rather than low to high.) All of the four performed specimens do show a three-tone conjunct descent, but: 1) it is preceded in all specimens by a series of alternating tones (the second and third in the gamut that the author has found to be common) and it is followed in one specimen by the third and fourth tones; and 2) it begins with the second rather than the first tone in the gamut.

These discrepancies suggest the following hypotheses. First, the *Mātrālakṣaṇa* may not be authoritative. Second, there is a question of how transmission takes place. Understandably, the book has little to say about how people learn the chants and whether they refer to the notated *gānas*, the *Mātrālakṣaṇa*, or any other texts as they learn or later. An extensive survey over a relatively short period such as this (December 1970-December 1971) precludes close observation of transmission practices. (And of course little transmission is to be seen in those schools nearing extinction.) Possibly oral transmission is an important or even the primary mode of transmission in some localities, with limited or selective use being made of the notated chants or other texts. The Nambūdiri Brahmins' Sāmavedic chant, which has only been orally transmitted, shows that the notated manuscripts are not strictly necessary for the preservation of the chant. Individual consistency and interchanter inconsistency might well result if learning takes place in a familial *guru-celā* (master-disciple) relationship, with different families having either different oral traditions or different traditions of interpreting notations. Clearly, intensive field work would help to answer these questions.

Finally, despite the emphasis placed on correct memorization of chants, and the incredible memory skills of some chanters, among some groups of chanters systematic chanting practices possibly have changed or even atrophied. For example, although Nambūdiri Brahmins use an elaborate system of hand movements while they chant, ". . . it is impossible at this point to associate a particular motive or series of motives with any given symbol or hand movement" (p. 222).

This is not the case for northern and southern Kauthuma and Rāṇyāniya chanting, in which finger positions (*mudrās*) do correspond to notational numbers in the *gānas*.

Little fault can be found with the mechanics of this book. Some of the crucial Sanskrit terms, like *pratyutkrama*, could have been illuminated by inclusion of pertinent Sanskrit text passages. The inclusion of notated *parvans* with the transcribed specimens would also have been useful, since few readers will possess the songbooks.

This is a highly technical book not designed for ready comprehension by the uninitiated. While one of its primary interpretations may be questioned, it greatly advances our knowledge of Sāmavedic chant and points the way to future research. Howard is also to be commended for his service to Indian culture in extensively recording and documenting musical traditions that may well soon cease to exist.

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NOTE

1. This was pointed out to me by Professor Nazir A. Jairazbhoy. I am indebted to him for conveying some of his understandings of Vedic chant and for criticizing a previous draft of this review.

Morton, David. *The Traditional Music of Thailand*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1976. 230 pp., 28 pp. music, photos, appendixes, bibliography, discography, index.

This revised edition of David Morton's 1964 PhD dissertation is the third in a planned series of ethnomusicological dissertations. (Unfortunately, however, the University of California Press has no plans to continue the series.) The revision has some very helpful additional material including more than 100 excellent photos, compared to the original 13. A glossary of Thai words has been added, and new bibliography. Though many words have been changed ("piece" becomes "composition" throughout, for example), there are no large-scale changes in the text—but there are some rather significant ones. Chapter headings are the same: 1, History; 2, The Fundamentals of Thai Music; 3, Instruments, Their Idiomatic Characteristics, and Ensembles; 4, Mode; 5, Forms and Compositional Techniques; 6, Conclusion.

With this publication, Morton has been writing on Thai music for 18 years. So far as I am aware, his work has not been subjected to published criticism (cf. Smith 1970). One reason may lie in the shortage of scholars interested in Thai music through these years. Morton has simply been the authority, and we all owe him a debt of gratitude for his extensive work in an area more or less neglected by Western writers since Stumpf (1901) and Pringsheim (1944). In what is said below—a rather critical appraisal—there is no intention to obviate Morton's substantial contributions. His Harvard Dictionary article (1969), for example, is a good summary in an appropriate place.

There are many errors in the book, of greater or lesser significance. Most have

been preserved from the original; a few have been added, a few removed. They range from small calligraphic errors (apparently the author chose, unadvisedly, to do his own calligraphy) to a general misrepresentation of rhythm. The typesetting and general copy work are very nearly perfect. Appendix B contains more than 50 errors of cents and averaging figures, which I shall not attempt to correct here. Most cents figures are wrong by at least one or two cents. The worst error, p. 233, lists interval 448.8/408.7 as 178 cents; it should read 162 cents. In addition, the book could have been more helpful had it included lexical tone markers throughout, as did the original.

Morton's use of Western musicological terms is sometimes vexing because he is so reluctant to define them precisely in advance (e.g., "traditional," pp. iii, vii; "classic," "high art," p. 15; "widely-gapped scale," p. 28; "tempo," p. 40).

An effort is sometimes made to define a term, but a second or third conflicting usage is evident elsewhere (e.g., "mode," cf. pp. 227 n15 and 117a;¹ "tone," cf. pp. 217a, 32a; "form," cf. pp. 65a, 180a, 202d; "style," cf. pp. 32d, 33a ["simple pentatonic style," Moon style"]; 30d, 61a ["sepha style"]; 97d ["melodic style"]; 65a ["virtuoso style"]).

Another example of this and related problems is the existence of "mode" in Thai music, the primary focus of Morton's research. As we have noted, he uses two definitions for the word, and this can present the reader with difficulties. The idea of mode being a hierarchy of pitches is not presented, but rather "a set of pitches" (p. 227b, n15) is used first. Later (p. 117), the definition is greatly expanded to include a gapped scale, a hierarchy of pitch relationships, and characteristic melodic patterns. The original "three factors considered necessary for a modal system to exist" (1964), has here been changed to "several factors considered necessary for a modal system to exist."

Still, what Morton demonstrates with his long chapter on mode is the shorter definition, not the longer. His approach, not his conclusion, is summed up as follows (p. 126):

Compositions, then, may be classified on the basis of the relative lack or occurrence in them of pitches 4 and/or 7 on the beats of the colotomic structure. . .

The reader is not told why this hypothesis virtually undergirds the study. It has not at all been sustained. First, the author's emphasis on colotomic structure is overdone. Thus his charts, which give *chit* (small cymbals) stroke pitch levels, are often inappropriate. Second, it is obvious from the laborious and lengthy definition of mode, and the failure to further illustrate aspects of that definition with actual data (cf. pp. 117a and 126d), that the thrust of the study is deductive. Third, the author fails to make any use whatever of emic data. He suggests there are none available (p. 115a). With regard to this whole matter, it would seem to be very important to begin research without preconceptions about pentatonicism. For example, Phra Chen Duriyanga, who spoke about this and is sometimes cited as local evidence, was not a Thai musician, but a Western musician (1948:41)—I believe this is highly significant.

"Mode," "pentatonic," and "metabole" are interwoven in Morton's analysis:

It is not always clear in some Thai compositions whether a passage is merely one involving passing tones or whether a true metabole shift in range or general pitch level exists. (p. 128) . . . Because there are no known rules, verbalized or otherwise, in Thai music governing what is or what is not a metabole, I decided to make

an arbitrary decision in the matter for purposes of analysis and theoretical discussion. The phrase-unit is considered the unit of measurement: if the passage in question is minimally the length of one phrase-unit and uses prominently the pitch—usually 4 or 7—that distinguishes a pentatonic mode on one pitch level from the same or another mode on another level and omits the distinguishing pitch of the mode on the original level, a metabole has taken place (p. 130).

There is a substantial *petitio principii* involved in this thinking, one which underlies the whole effort. For example, in a non-repetitive melody, how can there be anything but pentatonic mode if the occurrence of pitch four or seven is always dismissed as passing tone or metabole? This is, in effect, what happens in the analysis. "Passing tone" is never defined, but is somehow always attached to scale degrees four or seven.

In saying, "there are no Thai terms for such common Western musical concepts as scale, mode, and so forth" (p. 115), Morton has ignored at least three terms today used for scale. One of these, *banday sian* (sound ladder) was in use before Morton went to Thailand; it was suggested by Phra Chen Duriyanga. The other two, *māatraa sian* (sound standard) and *rabòp sian* (sound system), are probably more recent.² Regarding mode, of course no technical word exists like the English one of so many definitions. But where is *sāmniaṅ* (accent)? I translate somewhat literally from Montrii (1964:45-6):

Sāmniaṅ refers to the melodic contour of a composed melody. It causes a feeling and a knowledge as to what is a melody's type, class, and nationality [*paasāa*]. There is the saying, "A foreigner's accent betrays [his] nationality." This refers to the feelings we get from the speech [*paasāa*] of people with foreign accents that allow us to perceive their mother tongue [*paasāa*], or hometown. And the "accent" we hear in the melodies of music can enable us to perceive a song's type, class, or nationality. It is the same thing.

When asked about *sāmniaṅ*, Thai musicians speak of melodic contour. They also mention tempo, instrumentation, and occasionally, predominance of a given note (cf. Somchai 1973:11, *infra*). Other things are mentioned. But the intriguing word *sāmniaṅ* is not mentioned by Morton. In fact, it is just this type of omission (there is not the slightest hint of new ethnography here) that leaves such a gaping hole in the data. Emic data was always available, but the author's theoretical base seems to have guaranteed that it would not often be used.

Some of the author's ideas on rhythm (generic usage) in Thai music are greatly over-simplified, and this shows up in glosses and usages of rhythm-related words, both Thai and English. Thus the use of *ʔātraa* (rates; cf. Montrii 1964:11) and *nāatāp* needs careful reevaluation and exact definition. *Chán* is used in this book as "level," "degree," p. 216a; "version," p. 206c; "form," p. 212b; "division," p. 190c; "fast" tempo, p. 181c, without clear explanation of the divergence. The descriptive and analytical convention "melodic tempo" (Christensen 1960:9) might have greatly aided comprehensibility in this discussion. The "main melody" in *thāw* (a type of suite) has three general levels of melodic tempo, which double theoretically (Montrii 1964:11), if not always practically (Gowit 1976:3). Further, an *ʔātraa* change usually means the "inner tempo" (Christensen 1960:10) increases by a doubling of the number of *chīp* strokes per time unit. To say "the tempo doubles" is not really helpful. On the other hand, to say, as Morton does, "one cannot really speak of different tempos, in the Western sense, in Thai music" (p. 40), is misleading. One can speak of tempos (as Morton later does); but it would be better to do so in the proper context.

Morton recognizes that the "seven interval, equidistant scale of Thai music" is often imperfectly realized. He offers three reasons for the phenomenon: 1) because of wide gaps in the pentatonic structure, possibly the need for precision is not felt; 2) a decline in the tradition; 3) the short life of tuning waxes. Likely, again, because of his theoretical base, Morton does not support other explanations, such as the fragmentation of Thai society (cf. Hamburger 1967), "schools" of oral tradition, *sāmniap*, equanimity, etc. Rather, he seems more interested in isolating a fairly uniform, "high-art" tradition of the recent past that used an equidistant scale. Statistics for the scale discussion were taken from six instruments, all out of the same Bangkok school. He concludes,

The readings I made . . . substantiate statements that Thai tuning *ideally* is equidistant . . . We may say, then, that although there is no standard pitch level in Thailand and therefore no close agreement between corresponding pitches among different ensembles, within one *properly* tuned ensemble the instruments are closely in tune with on another. (Pp. 27-28, italics mine.)

And later, "my feeling is that the intention in the tuning is indeed for equidistance" (p. 29).

A somewhat different view is taken by physicist Somchai Thayarnyong (1973:58-9), of Chulalongkorn University Computer Center, who, under royal patronage, sampled more than 100 musicians:

From Appendix B we can see that the individual tuning of the scale of Thai instruments is not so certain or reliable. Even in the same band where all instruments are owned by one person, the tuning of the scale can vary up to 50 cents between various instruments. . . . From this study we have come to the conclusion that at present the scale of Thai music is not fixed.

Morton suggests (p. 38a) that a composition played at whatever pitch level is not thought of as different in mood. And,

if the tuning were not equidistant, playing the composition at one pitch level would give a set of intervallic relationships that might be equated with a certain mood, while playing the composition at a different pitch level would give another set of relationships, and a different mood, . . . However, to my knowledge such a situation does not obtain in Thai music.

Again, Somchai has probed deeper (1973:11):

Most of the musicians who play the Piphat Band always mention that when they play in a band with Thai classical drama (*Li-ke*) and the Masked Play (*Khone*) they have to shift the scale or change the key of the song, although it is the same song. They say that they want to keep the temper and mood according to the original of the play. This matter illustrates one of the conflicts between the above belief with shifting the scale and the theory that the scale is equal and non-harmonic. In the case of equal scale, the shifting of tone should not affect the listener at all.

Traditional Thai music has undoubtedly seen an increase in popularity in the past several years. This may be due to several factors, but clearly neither the present nor the future of Thai music was ever as gloomy as Morton suggests:

people of Thailand have little opportunity to hear their own music. And young people have little incentive to take up the profession . . . (p. 17b). Despite the two references quoted in Chapter I . . . to great musical activity in former times, traditional Thai music was a hot-house art from the beginning . . . (p. 223b). Within the system as it stands today little more seems likely to be accomplished than the continual restatement of well-tried musical material, and it appears

doubtful that the fresh material and social circumstances and the fresh creative outlook that could stimulate musical practice to evolve will be forthcoming in the near future (p. 224a).

That his predictions and qualitative evaluations (softened for this edition) have not proven out is testimony to the lack of data supporting them. Social conclusions have been appended to a very non-social, musicological study. Why this was done can only be guessed. But the actual social data of Thai music, I would suggest, are quite opposed to Morton's scenario. Since the data also oppose some key structural analyses—the real focus of the study—the overall usefulness of the book will be more as a stimulus than as a reliable source.

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NOTES

1. For convenience I have referred to quarters of a page in the book as follows: a, top left; b, bottom left; c, top right; d, bottom right.

2. Since the new words have arisen due to Western stimuli, their usefulness in discussing Thai music is open to question. But they should at least be noted. The Thai do theorize about their music, in very profound ways, but quite often using non-technical words. Today one might hear the term *luuk* (the notes) *mor* (all of them). Before the technical words, this was scale—though it had other meanings as well.

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Folksong studies of a region or state are not without precedent. Early studies with this scope, such as Louise Pound's *Folk Songs of Nebraska and the Central West* (1915), Reed Smith's *South Carolina Ballads* (1928), Phillips Barry's *British Ballads from Maine* (1929), and Arthur K. Davis's *Traditional Ballads of Virginia* (1929), were among the first works to deal systematically with folksong not only through the eyes of a collector but also as a scholar. Because of this twofold approach these studies were not restricted by being simply collections of regional folklore and song, but could be used by scholars for comparative analysis of folksong distribution. As such, these studies have established standards from which folksong scholarship could grow and develop integrity.

Despite these precedents, certain states and regions of the United States have been slow to produce their own folk music studies. In Wisconsin this has, in part, been remedied by the publication of *Folk Songs Out of Wisconsin*, an "illustrated compendium" of 200 songs collected in or near Wisconsin between 1919 and 1946. Obviously, publication of such collections is long overdue. It is also obvious, however, that Harry Peters makes little attempt to continue the work of those collectors whose studies provided the material for his book.

The work of four folksong collectors serves as the basis for this volume. Franz Rickaby (1889-1925) traversed the state in 1919, much like his troubadour friend and colleague, Vachel Lindsay. Rickaby took along a violin and a notebook, learning the songs of northern Wisconsin in order to transcribe them later. His diligent and sensitive work resulted in *Ballads and Songs of the Shanty-Boy*, published posthumously in 1926. Rickaby's travels brought him into contact with many residents of the cutover region of Wisconsin who worked the forests before they were depleted around the turn of the century. His book provides not only a glimpse of the musical repertoire, but a history of the lives of an immigrant people swept into the maw of the lumbering industry as it sought to consume the natural resources of the upper Midwest. It is indeed a tragedy that Rickaby's work was interrupted by early death.

Asher Treat (b. 1907) studied, in 1932, the songs and lore of Kentuckians who had moved to northern Wisconsin in the late 19th century. These "Kaintucks" made a unique contribution to Wisconsin folk music, for they represented a large and rather isolated group who maintained English and Scottish ballads from the Appalachians. Treat's study appears in the *Journal of American Folklore* 52 (1939).

Whereas the Depression caused much hardship throughout the United States, funds channeled through a variety of Federal agencies, most notably the Works Progress Administration, provided the largest single Federal effort to support the arts. Sidney Robertson was able to collect folk music in northern Wisconsin during the 1930's while she worked for the U.S. Resettlement Administration. Her work is housed in collections at the Library of Congress and the State University of New York at Cooperstown.

Helene Stratman-Thomas (University of Wisconsin-Madison) undertook the most extensive collecting. Supported by the Library of Congress, she canvassed the entire state in 1940 and 1946 in search of music from all ethnic, social, and occupational groups. She was convinced that honest appraisal of Wisconsin folk

music would be impossible if restricted to a limited number of ethnic or occupational groups, because the population represented a unique polyglot of ethnic groups. Only a study including the musics of these various groups could assist in reconstructing a musical and social history accurately representing the region's ethnic diversity. This diversity, rather than arbitrary boundaries, defines the unique flavor of any region. The Stratman-Thomas collection, some of which is recorded on *Folk Music from Wisconsin* (Archive of Folk Song L 55, 1960), includes songs in 24 European and 11 Native American languages. Furthermore, her field notes show that she sought to employ this variety of song towards delineating a cultural ethnography of Wisconsin. The settlements of certain areas were clearly dominated by groups who did not speak English and, consequently, did not express themselves in English song. German and Norwegian songs, for example, predominate in certain localities. The research of Stratman-Thomas demonstrates the difficulty of regional folksong study; yet, it unquestionably points to the necessity and efficacy of thorough study if social history and patterns of ethnicity are to be adequately reconstructed by the folk music scholar.

Unfortunately, Peters's edition and compilation of *Folk Songs Out of Wisconsin* falls short of the spirit of scholarship and discovery possessed by the collectors represented therein. Though he claims to be neither folklorist nor ethnomusicologist, Peters, an administrator and instructor of oboe at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, has regrettably taken few pains to represent the thorough efforts of the fieldworkers. Some unfortunate flaws result from this avoidance of thorough research. For example, none of the six Child ballads included are acknowledged as such, though they are among the most representative members of this corpus—one result being a recategorization of ballads like "The Demon Lover" and "The Ship Carpenter," both versions of Child 243, under the curious rubrics "Courtship" and "Longing," respectively.

This is not, however, the most disturbing flaw of scholarship. The book simply does not represent the scope of work pursued by the collectors. Though Peters could have drawn from an abundance of ethnic material, he chose to include only English-language songs. His section "Ethnic Matters" includes only two songs in which the text is realized in a "foreign" language—English with a token German accent. Consequently, although Peters claims to draw most heavily from the work of Stratman-Thomas, he is not faithful to the spirit of her work. In the Introduction Peters cautions: "It is too much to claim that these songs comprise a social history of Wisconsin during the last century." As the songs are presented in *Folk Songs Out of Wisconsin*, this disclaimer certainly holds true. But given the thorough and catholic collections of Rickaby, Treat, Robertson, and Stratman-Thomas, a valuable opportunity to reconstruct the social and ethnic history of Wisconsin was unfortunately lost.

Despite its shortcomings, the book has some positive aspects. It is the first publication of folksongs representative of the state, and production by the State Historical Society has resulted in a beautiful volume. The songs and texts are complemented by illustrations and photographs from the State Historical Society's Iconographic Collection, which create a visual feast of immigrant and Wisconsin history. Additionally, as a collection of song per se, it will be quite valuable; use in schools and by local folk music groups will make the book an important contribution to the understanding of Wisconsin folklore.

Folk Songs Out of Wisconsin must be viewed as a beginning that may stimulate more thorough studies and encourage readers to open their ears to the folk

music in the world around them. Let us hope that this volume of regional folk music will cause others to pursue similar studies, so that someday we may be able to grapple more effectively with the problems of regional ethnicity and social history.

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Zemtsovskii, Izalii I. *Melodika kalendarnykh pesen* (The Melodics of Calendar Songs). Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo "Muzyka," 1975. 222 pp., figures, 600 music examples, appendix, bibliography (1036 items).

Zemtsovskii's book has already excited interest at home and abroad because of the subject matter, the theoretic approach, the methods of analysis used, and because of the author's reputation as teacher, field worker, analyst, and theoretician.

The ritual songs performed at specific times of year, such as the winter solstice, the new year, etc., are among the most fascinating genres of Slavic traditional folklore and folk music, for in them pagan, pre-Christian elements may have been preserved. Evidence might even be present of their common Slavic origin, before the Slavs separated from each other and migrated to their present locations. There has been much research in this field, some of it by great scholars, nearly all dealing with the song texts or customs. Recently, important theories have been advanced by Chicherov (1957) and Propp (1963) on the Russian rituals of the agricultural year and their systemic interrelation. Soviet and other Slavic scholars have been newly attracted to this subject. Several new collections of ritual calendar songs, with tunes, have been published (especially Belorussian and Ukrainian ones), a new basic anthology of Russian calendar song texts has appeared (1970), compiled, with a study, by Zemtsovskii. Important new theoretical ideas, especially on spring and summer rituals, based on field work, were advanced by the late Tatiana Koleva of Bulgaria (e.g., Koleva 1972).

Now, in this book, we have a large-scale comparative analysis of the music of Slavic calendar ritual songs. The volume is organized as follows: Foreword (pp. 3-23); Introduction: Calendar Songs as a Cycle (pp. 24-29); Chapter I. Songs of the Winter Calendar (pp. 29-77): *koliady* (carols), *podbliudnye pesni* (fortune-telling songs), lenten songs; Chapter II. Songs of the Spring Calendar (pp. 77-118): *vesnianki* (spring songs), *volochebnye pesni* (spring carols); Chapter III. Songs of the Spring-Summer Calendar (pp. 118-141): *semitskie* and *troitskie* (spring songs of the Trinity period), *kupal'skie* (midsummer night songs); Chapter IV. Songs of the Summer and Autumn Work Period (Harvest) (pp. 141-156); Conclusion: Interconnections and Parallels (pp. 157-167); Postword (pp. 168-170). Appendix: Tables (of related melodies), Nos. 1-59 (pp. 171-194). Literature Cited (pp. 195-223).

In the Foreword the theoretic views of the author are set forth. The practical goal is an initial systematization of a huge and variegated body of song melodies according to typological groupings and laws. (Zemtsovskii states that he will not deal with the associated customs or analyze the song texts.) Of equal importance to him, however, is persuading the reader of the validity of his conceptual approach and the effectiveness within it of his methods of analysis. In general, he is using the principles of comparative typology, stressing common Slavic typological coin-

cidences or general resemblances. It makes no sense, in his view, to expect identity in songs that have been sung over centuries. Of course they have changed, in various ways. He chooses to seek common or similar elements, rather than examine differences. He also attempts reconstruction from time to time. Further, he has eliminated from consideration songs of church or religious content, as they certainly constitute a newer layer. In the Foreword he also discusses the empirical approach, which would analyse a "dialect" or song repertory of a cohesive area. Zemtsovskii prefers to look for the musical laws of a genre system, not limited to a single dialect, and to verify his conclusions by broad regional and national, even international, material.

Here we may pause for a remark about source material: Russian folk music (from which Zemtsovskii starts) has not been systematically collected. The data is scattered in many relatively small song collections of various levels of scholarship and accuracy. There are relatively few calendar songs in these collections, and few left in folk memory. This was also a factor (even though he uses much material from other Slavic, also non-Slavic, traditions) impelling Zemtsovskii to look not for dialectal but superdialectal laws, as he calls them. While both must be studied, the more general aspects should be given priority, in his view.

In the Introduction, the works of Chicherov and Propp are noted as basic to the book, in that both trace the repetitions or recurrences of the same elements (omens, rites, customs, popular beliefs) throughout the agricultural year. Chicherov in particular considers that the agricultural year divides into two basic parts: the preparation for the harvest and the gathering of it. With this in mind, Zemtsovskii's finding in Chapter IV, that among the harvest ritual songs, every melodic type belonging to the other specific calendar rites is represented, seems to confirm the central importance of the harvest and its rite.

The analysis in the main part of the book rests on examination of several tens of thousands of songs, printed and unpublished, mostly East Slavic (Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian), and much South Slavic, especially Bulgarian, but those of Baltic peoples, Mordvinians and other European nations are also used. Each section treats songs with a common ritual appurtenance. There is reference to the basic literature (on customs, texts, etc.), then an account of what is known of the place, time, and manner of performance (loud, soft, choral unison, antiphonal, male, female, or mixed singers). Then types of melodies are assembled; Zemtsovskii sorts out scale or modal formulas (LF), and rhythmic formulas (RF), and from them works out a model or stereotype or invariant, which he calls a melodic type (MT). He also uses the concept of an intonational field (IP), within which there is essential mobility, but with limits. He calls this the zonality (or the zonality principle) of the musical language of oral tradition. The LF is a projection of the basic melodic intonation of a song, mostly the distinctive melodic movement of the song as a whole, less often, of the song's component parts, especially the refrain, if any. He attempts to characterize some of the leading MTs belonging to the chief calendar festivals, stressing not regional specificity but common Slavic typological resemblances.

At the end of Chapter IV, summing up the leading melodic "intonations" of calendar songs (the rhythmic patterns are shown in a table on page 171), he notes "first, that of the diatonic fourth (fa, mi, re, do), the basis for *koliadki*, *kupal'skie*, harvest songs; second, the diatonic fifth (sol, fa, mi, re, do), the basis for another group of *koliadki*, of *volochebnye*, and of spring-summer songs; third, the intonation of the major third and of the fourth (as such, or with added skip of fourth below)—which form the basis of [some of] almost all the [categories of] calendar

songs! And finally, the intonations of a clear tetrachord within a sixth range, known in end-of-year ritual songs, but especially clearly expressed in *troitskie*, *kupal'skie* and harvest songs. Another group of intonations has a magical-invocational sense: of calls, cries, exclamations. These are represented in short phrases of a fourth (a type of the May songs), of a trichord within the range of a fourth (the type of the *vesnianki* calling songs), and finally those of a third, and of a tetrachord within the range of a sixth, which have special "calling" cadences on the second degree of the scale. In this case the cadence is independent in its intonational sense. We also find among calendar songs unusual songs based on tritonal intonations within a diminished fifth, which is rare in Russian folk music. These occur among the *vesnianki* and *kupal'skie* songs. Their semantics can be linked with a former magic function of the songs" (pp. 155-56). He goes on to say: "Before us there is gradually appearing nothing less than a musical 'lexicon' of old Russian singing, linked with the lexicon of other European peoples."

With all its wider horizons, the book is packed with specific information, with the details of melodies which are summed up above, with comments on how to evaluate the song collections, with many indications of correlations beyond the framework of calendar songs. There is a particularly interesting discussion of the well-known ritual spring dance song "A my proso seiali" (We Were Sowing Grain).

In short, this is a pioneer effort in an important field, by an acknowledged specialist, a book we will be learning from, arguing with, and developing further for many years to come. It constitutes a landmark. The huge international bibliography is already serving as a reference work in the Slavic world.

Yet the publisher of this book (1) refused to put the words under the melodies of the examples (in 30 of 600 examples are the words provided), and, worst of all, (2) references to literature (song collections, books, articles), even the identifications of the melodies are given by numbers, for which one must leaf back to the numbered items of the literature listed at the end of the book. Briefly, the format is disastrous, and comes close to sinking the book altogether. It is urgently recommended that the book be reissued in full, with all this normal scholarly apparatus provided in the normal way, for it is almost unusable in its present form. One is left with the worst possible impression of publishing standards in the Soviet Union.

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RECORD REVIEWS

Songs of Love, Luck, Animals and Magic: Music of the Yurok and Tolowa Indians. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1977. New World NW 297. Notes and selected bibliography by Charlotte Heth.

This is the second album produced by Charlotte Heth to represent Native American music in the New World Records Series of American music. While the first album, *Songs of Earth, Water, Fire and Sky: Music of the American Indian*, NW 246 (see McAllester 1977 for the review in *Ethnomusicology*) samples six specific and two pan-tribal styles, for her second album Heth has focussed exclusively on the most distinctive of them. In my opinion we are indebted to her for electing to concentrate on this relatively unknown musical tradition rather than producing yet another anthology of American Indian music or following the suggestion that the album reflect "a wide spectrum of [the] present-day scene" by including Indian country and western groups (McAllester 1977:523).

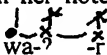
This exceptional recording of songs from two northwestern California tribes is both timely and overdue, for the repertoire is one of the least well known and the style perhaps the most unusual in all Indian music. Precious little of such music has been recorded, and almost all of it rests in archives. Consequently, the most recent and accurate description of California Indian music as "a neglected field of research" with "no comprehensive survey of the whole field" (Wallace 1978:648) continues to echo Kroeber's complaint more than fifty years earlier, that "for centuries hundreds of thousands of human beings in California have been forming a style, a variety of styles . . . and we can not yet make a single exact and intelligible remark about their accomplishments" (Kroeber 1925:96).

The paucity of knowledge about their music is mostly attributable to the decimation of the California tribes following the Gold Rush of 1849. In the album notes a young singer, Loren Bommelyn, cites the tragic statistics for his people, the "up-river" Tolowa. Their numbers had dwindled from 1000 to 15, after which they intermixed with the surviving Yurok and Karok, evidently sharing musical cultures (both of Heth's recordings contain Tolowa/Yurok performances). Because the number of tradition bearers must therefore have been very small, Heth's collecting was timely (several of her singers were born before the turn of the century) and greatly increases our knowledge of the music from this region. With its examples of multipart singing—a rarity in American Indian music—unusual vocal mannerisms and tonal systems, and means other than a drum for percussion, the album offers a fresh look at the rich variety still to be found in Indian music in a recording market otherwise inundated by the Plains powow repertoire.

Even before northern California music was recorded, the existence of multipart music had been noted. De Angulo and d'Harcourt, for instance, describe a very old Pomo dance song where the women's and men's parts diverge for 5 to 6 seconds before coming together again, as well as a style of flute playing in which the performer uses his vocal chords to produce a sort of drone against the melody (de Angulo and d'Harcourt 1931:211, 193). Kroeber (1949:68-9) witnessed a Yurok Deerskin dance at Weitspur in 1901, where the singer and his two assistants stamped their feet and twisted about in the center of a row of dancers. Rigidly upright and barely moving their feet, these dancers, who provided a second layer

to the music, would "chant a staccato but not loud 'he he he'" (see also Kretschmer's transcription of Billy Werk's accompanimental "monotone grunt, like a beat: á a á a" [Kroeber and Gifford 1949:138, No. 490]).

Such verbal descriptions, however, are inadequate until the music is actually heard. This is now possible with Heth's recordings of Yurok Brush Dance songs and Tolowa Gambling and Ceremonial (*Nedosh*) songs, each genre exhibiting a different manner of performing in parts. In the Brush Dance songs, the leader begins a rapid rhythmic ostinato, which is taken up by the chorus. This frees him for melodic excursions over the ostinato in more sustained tones at a higher pitch. When yet a third musical line emerges, as in the third repetition of Frank Douglas's "Hobo Song" (A.13), the polyphonic texture is further enriched, resulting in truly one of the most unusual musical styles on the continent. A similar divergence from unison to part singing is the practice of Tolowa singers while gambling (B.3, B.4); that this is by no means accidental is made perfectly clear by a Tolowa singer, who describes in some detail in the album notes what is involved musically in "seconding" the lead singer properly.

In addition to the multipart performances, Heth's recording shows unusual vocal mannerisms and formulae to be an essential part of the northwestern California style. The brief pattern that ends strophes of the Brush Dance she describes as "a phrase of aspirated exhalation on a pitch not used elsewhere in the song." The sound produced is similar to that of the ostinato and is another example of special vocal effects, which, like ululations, animal cries, and other hallmarks of American Indian song, can only be approximated in notation and must be heard (Heth gives "h^h h^h h^h . ." in her notes; Richard Keeling, in an unpublished transcription of A.8 suggests ). Apparently the Yurok used similar

formulae to close their Doctor Dance and Jumping Dance songs (see Robins and McLeod 1956:597; Kroeber and Gifford 1949:74), and this particular sound may have been the "noisy sobbing" de Angulo and d'Harcourt had in mind when, depicting northwestern California singing as markedly different from that in the north central and northeastern regions, they noted "à la fin de chaque phrase, on aspire l'air bruyamment, tout à fait comme si l'on sanglotait" (1931:200). Also striking is the recitation formula for prayers between songs of the Tolowa Ceremonial Dance (B.5-B.6). Sounding every bit like a Gregorian lection tone, it is concluded each time with the Tolowa equivalent of a congregational "amen." The literature suggests that there were once other peculiarities in the traditional performance style, which we may probably never hear, examples being the "long foghornlike note[s], some beginning as others ended" that the Yurok Deerskin dancers produced during pauses in the singing of a song set (Kroeber 1949:69), or the "wô-hêi-o" sung or shouted with each leap in the Jumping Dance (*ibid.*: 72).

Though more data is needed, the material on Heth's recording suggests that if range, tonal material, and melodic contour are considered together, one can make some distinction between northwestern California song genres. The three Love Songs and the Basket Song (which seems to belong to that style) have the widest ranges, are pentatonic and generally descending, whereas the Woman's Brush Dance songs have much smaller ranges, moving for the most part within a sixth, and are frequently tetratonic with undulating contours (cf. also Robins and McLeod 1956: Song No. 2). The several tetratonic scales to be heard on this recording include one whole tone scale (A.7) and scales with half steps, of which F-D-C[#]-A appears most frequently and in the music of both tribes (see the beginning of A.1, B.3, the first part of B.5).

The only percussion for the ceremonial songs is provided by the constant swishing of the abalone shell discs sewn on to the female dance costume (a photo of one such dress appears on the album cover, though it is somewhat obscured by superimposed black cut-outs of elk antler spoons). Since we have become so accustomed to expect drum accompaniment for Indian music, we are well reminded that there are areas on the continent where drums are not prominent, even absent, or only recently adopted. The northwest corner of California is in fact noted for its scarcity of musical instruments generally (see Wallace 1978:647, Table 1, "Distribution of Musical Instruments"), and the square double-headed drums used on the recording for the gambling songs (the Tolowa add the deerhoof rattle) are of post-contact origin. The Karok fashioned theirs from boxes obtained from Mexican grocers, possibly in imitation of the suitcase, while the Yurok variety was a crackerbox covered with horsehide, replacing the aboriginal "drum," which consisted of a cedar plank hit with a stick (de Angulo and d'Harcourt 1931:196; Kroeber 1925:96).

The technical quality of the recording is generally excellent. There are a few distortions caused by *ad libitum* shouting during the Tolowa Ceremonial Dance song (B.5), though such interjections, frequent during Indian songs, are of course impossible to anticipate and thus compensate for, as anyone who has recorded such music can attest. In the group performances, separation of the vocal lines on to the stereo tracks facilitates the perception of their independence. Also welcome are the several periods of unedited comments from the performers between songs. Their pleasure and the informality of the recording session are evident in such remarks as "boy, that's *real*!"; "that might cure your legs, maybe" during the Brush Dance, formerly a curing ceremony, and "one more time" (requests from the audience in English for more repetitions are traditional; see Kroeber and Gifford 1949:69). Because the traditional dances and costuming of the religious ceremonies of this region are unique, diagrams, more detailed descriptions of the choreography, and historical photographs would have been a useful supplement.

The questions raised by this sample of northern California music show the urgent need for more collecting and research, particularly while the older tradition bearers are still accessible (the Yurok singer Hector Simms died three months after Heth recorded him). One would like to know, for instance, more about the distinction between "light" and "heavy" Brush Dance songs. We are told in the notes only that the heavy songs, which must be performed before the light ones, are slower ("heavy with prayer") and that women are excluded from performing them. Do the Yurok make further distinctions and do these affect aspects of style other than tempo, as is suggested by the recordings? The three Yurok love songs included also raise questions about that genre. These are said to be magical or "lucky" songs meant to attract the attentions of someone whom one desires (cf. the reference by de Angulo and d'Harcourt to Karok "chants magique pour attirer d'amour"). Are there meant to be distinctions between male and female performances of love songs? As a group they share in common the wide ranges already mentioned, but that sung by Frank Douglas is vigorous and tense in its delivery in his upper register; that by Aileen Figueroa, at nearly half the tempo of Douglas's song, in a legato and lilting delivery at the bottom of her register (although de Angulo and d'Harcourt heard only Pomo and Karok love songs, Figueroa's song may represent the style they characterized as having a sentimental quality; they found their love songs less "Indian" than the others, and consequently the music that most non-Indians had in mind when referring to Indian songs). The formal

structure of each of the three songs is also different: Douglas's song shows incomplete repetition, Ella Norris's paired phrase structure (Great Basin influence?), which it shares with Figueroa's Basket Song, but not with her Love Song. One hopes that this recording will stimulate a search to explain such discrepancies.

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- Indian Music of Northwest Mexico: Tarahumara, Warihio, Mayo* (Música indígena del noroeste de México). One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1978. Canyon C-8801. Jacket notes, photos.
- Raramuri Tagiara: Music of the Tarahumar*. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1974. . . . Stuff. Stereo. Jacket notes, bibliography. (Available from: Stuff, 1065 Van Dyke Drive, Laguna Beach, CA 92651)

While both of these albums are welcome additions to the sparse discography of the Indians of Northwest Mexico, serious drawbacks in the accompanying written documentation limit their value for the ethnomusicologist.

The Canyon recording is a by-product of the exhibit "The Other Southwest: Indian Arts and Crafts of Northwest Mexico," that opened in 1977 at the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona. Brought from their native areas in Mexico to perform at the exhibit were 32 members of the Tarahumara, Warihio, and Mayo tribes. The Tarahumara, with a population of around 50,000, are widely dispersed throughout the rugged terrain of southwestern Chihuahua. Most of the Warihio, much fewer in number, are located to the west in an area adjacent to the Tarahumara. The Mayo (not to be confused with the Maya, far removed both geo-

graphically and culturally from the Mayo) are found further south and west, along the Sonora-Sinaloa border.

All musical selections are intended for dancing. Typical of music heard on Christian-related celebrations such as Easter and saints' days are three Tarahumara *matachín* dances performed by five violinists and seven rattle-bearing dancers. *Los matachines*, many variants of which are found among Indian groups in Arizona and Mexico, were introduced to the New World by Jesuit missionaries in the 16th and 17th centuries. The violin melodies clearly reflect the European rhythmic-harmonic system of that period, though the last dance (item A.5) is set in a 3+3+3+2+2+2 rhythmic cycle. The only Tarahumara example from the extensive non-Catholic musical repertory is the Yumari dance, sung by a "respected male in the community" accompanying himself with a rattle while dancing with two women.

The Mayo excerpts are from the *pascola* and deer dances, Yaqui versions of which may be found on earlier Canyon recordings.¹ The two types of musical accompaniment for the *pascola* dancers are represented: 1) harp and violin, for occasions when the *pascolas* dance alone (item B.2), and 2) cane flute and drum played by one man, for occasions when the deer dancer is present (item A.1). Also heard are the *teneboim*, or cocoon rattles tied to the dancers' legs, and two types of hand-held rattles. The deer dance (item B.3) includes the usual group vocal, rasps, water drum, and gourd rattle.

The sole Wariho musical item is a diatonic harp solo erroneously labeled "A song from the Río Mayo." It is actually the harpist's version of the popular *guaracha* entitled "Mi Cafetal" ("My Coffee Plantation"). Embarrassingly enough, this misrepresentation is indicative of our current knowledge of Wariho music. On the positive side, the harp provides quite pleasant listening.

All selections are skillfully recorded, and in spite of the unfamiliar performance context, the sound product is quite faithful to the respective musical styles. The accompanying notes, however, are limited to two-thirds of one jacket side, space hardly sufficient for an introduction to the music of one culture, let alone three.

The first side of *Raramuri Tagiara* best serves as a survey of Tarahumara musical instruments, including the violin (*raberi*), steel-string guitar (*nawajiara*), musical bow (*chapereki*), cane flute (*kusereki*), drum (*pambora*), clacker (*sawera*), and rattle (*sajura*). In addition, there are four short examples of solo female song. Side Two consists of 17 minutes of unbanded excerpts from the Tarahumara "Easter Pageant," in which drums, song, bells, walking, and conversation are heard. Unless, however, one is closely acquainted with the events within the occasion, the meager paragraph of notes is hardly sufficient explanation.

All of the recordings were made in and around the small village of Cuzarare in the Tarahumara Sierra of Chihuahua. Sound fidelity is on the whole good, but for reasons not evident to this reviewer, the microphone is occasionally placed a great distance from the sound source. The notes, covering one side of the record jacket, are set in fine type in order to include a maximum of information. They are impaired by several naive speculations regarding the cultural identity and origin of the instruments, for example:

There are . . . no musical instruments known to this author at this time which are peculiar or indigenous to the area. Thus, no single instrument can be identified as specifically Tarahumar.

All the instruments, in all probability both manufactured and played by the Tara-

humara for at least 250 years, may be identified as Tarahumar. Further assertions as to the Spanish origin of the guitar and the violin are in order, but to conjecture that the *pambora*, much broader and shallower than the European field drum, was introduced from Spain simply because it has a snare and an altered Spanish name (*tambor* or *tambora* in Spanish), or that the rattle and musical bow were borrowed in pre-Columbian times from neighboring groups such as the Yaqui or Seri, is unfounded and pointless.

Even more pointless is the use of hundredths of a minute in time designations; 45 seconds, for example, is designated as 0.75 minutes! Moreover, many of the time markings are incorrect.

One long-belabored issue emerges out of the criticism of these two albums, namely, the frequent lack of adequate written documentation to accompany recordings. Two common arguments for this are 1) that the inclusion of extensive written material gives the album an "esoteric" appearance, decreasing its appeal to record buyers, and 2) that the commissioning and printing of notes is economically prohibitive. A simple solution to the first point would be to publish the notes as a separate pamphlet "hidden" inside the record jacket. As for the financing of documentation, I would strongly urge ethnographers and record producers to exert more effort in seeking support from the many available public and private funding agencies.

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NOTE

1. See *Yaqui music of the Pascola and Deer Dance* (Canyon #6099) and *Yaqui Ritual and Festive Music* (Canyon #6140).

Panji in Lombok II. An Anthology of South-East Asian Music. Published by the Institute for Musicology of the University of Basel. Recordings, commentary, and photographs by Tilman Seebass. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. [1978?]. Bärenreiter-Musicaphon BM 30 SL 2564. Stereo/Mono. Descriptive notes in English and German bound into slipcase, 9 pp., illus., map, photos.

Panji in Bali I. An Anthology of South-East Asian Music. Published by the Institute for Musicology of the University of Basel. Recordings, commentary, and photographs by Tilman Seebass. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. [1978?]. Bärenreiter-Musicaphon BM 30 SL 2565. Stereo/Mono. Descriptive notes in English and German bound into slipcase, 10 pp., illus., map, photos.

These new releases in Bärenreiter's series on Southeast Asia maintain the high standards of recording quality and commentary established by their predecessors (see Toth 1978). *Panji in Lombok II* provides more performances by the three five-tone *pélog* ensembles represented by single bands on the first Lombok issue. The *kelénang* performs compositions both in modern (*kebyar*-influenced) and traditional styles. The "transparency of sound" in the latter style is due to the slow tempo, small number and wide subdivisional dispersion of the instrumental

strata, and the floating melody of the flutes in the orchestra's upper range. Although there is neither phrase-marker (the equivalent Balinese *palet* or Javanese *kenongan*) within the gong-period, nor regular stressing by *jegogan*, these missing strata are implied by the skeletal melody carried by the flutes, resulting in a three-phrase gong-period (*ab cb de*) repeated as the body of the composition. The subdivisions of the *gongan* (or the relative tempos) by gong/*petuk* and *suling/réyong* figuration are 1/48/192 (*réyong* = 264 MM.). The flutes show two unusual characteristics: they limit themselves to a one-octave range (with consequently large leaps in melodic contour); and, unlike other Sasak flute traditions (e.g., *kamput*), they use no vibrato, perhaps in keeping with the nonbeating sound of the unpaired "*réyong*" metallophones.

In contrast to this is the tradition shared by the *tawa'-tawa'* and *rebana*. Both of these ensembles have instruments serving as large gong, secondary low/high gong-pair, drums and cymbals, and interlocking "*réyong*" for figuration. In the *tawa'-tawa'* the colotomic and elaborating instruments are bronze idiophones, while in the *rebana* they are tuned frame drums. The 1234512 notation in the related book (Seebass et al. 1976:59) for the seven-kettle *réyong* of the *tawa'-tawa'* could be rewritten as 723567² for ears accustomed to Central Javanese *pélog*, with principal emphasis in the figuration being given to the degrees 2356, another tonal reason why this sounds so related to *carabalen*. The record's subtitle "*Kabar Alus*" is taken from the name of the traditional composition recorded here by both ensembles. The two versions show similar formal structure and identical stratification of gong/secondary gong-pair/figuration, but with a figuration tempo ("Density Referent") about 1½ times that of the *kelénang*: 1/36/288 (*tawa'-tawa'* figuration = 416 MM., *rebana* = 448 MM.).¹ The complex melodic figurations of the two versions have much more in common than is evident at first hearing, and Seebass's 18 "measures" of their repeated *gongan* actually resolve to a 9-section form: ab ab a'c' a'c' ab' a'c' ab' a'c' a'c'.

A A B B' A' B' A' B B' The figuration is also altered three-quarters through each measure in an anticipating fashion so characteristic of gong-chime ensembles in Bali and Java. Besides using "shock chords" of *pélog* fifths, the figuration also includes harmonic intervals of three and even two (neighboring) degrees. (The notated example of interlocking parts in the commentary is somewhat misleading in that it shows no chords.) When one considers that each *réyong* player has only one note and no others to strike or damp manually for helping to keep time at this tempo, it is—to say the least—difficult.

All the performances here are excellent. The recording is beautifully clear, with good spatial orientation and separation of the different instruments. This album is a challenge for any transcriber even if already experienced with other Indonesian analogues.

For the first Balinese release in this series, frequently recorded genres such as *gong kebyar* have been passed over in favor of the rare and historically important traditions of seven-tone Semar Pegulingan (for other recordings cf. Indravox 1935(?) and OCORA 1973). The two clubs on this disc (Pagan Kelod, formerly in Tampakgangsal, and Kamasan) were the only active ones in existence even in the 1920-30's when Kunst and McPhee made their original studies (Kunst 1925:69-94; McPhee 1966:140-149). Basing formal structure, scale practice, and repertoire of compositions on the *gambuh* flute tradition, this court orchestra more commonly appears in a "gapped" 5- (occasionally 6-) tone form with slightly altered instrumentation for accompanying *lègong*, *barong*, and *Calonarang* (cf. Nonesuch

1972). Three of the four pieces here are directly taken from *gambuh* ("Sumeradas," "Langsing Tuban," and "Gadung Melatih").

Rather than giving the one-octave heptatonic tuning for each orchestra, the commentary only presents their equivalent 5-tone scales beginning on the fifth degrees of the tunings (*Selisir* scales). Allowing for the two missing degrees in each, the intervallic values agree approximately with Kunst and McPhee (who wrongly begins Kamasan's tuning one degree too low, unless it has been drastically shifted up one step since his time). Here we read that the Pagan set badly needs the services of a tuner, while Kamasan does not; McPhee and Schlager, however, say the opposite (Schlager 1960:261-262). Any paired tuning must stretch or compress at least half of its octaves if the beat rate of its "unisons" is intended to be constant throughout the ambitus of the ensemble; octave deviations therefore cannot necessarily serve as criteria for mistuning.

The names and locations of 5-tone scales in 7-tone Semar Pegulingan (and *gambuh*, for that matter) show great variation and contradictions among clubs and scholars (and even from page to page).² What we actually hear on this album, as the commentary correctly describes, are compositions based on 5-tone scales with two (A.2), one (B.1, 2), and no auxiliary pitches (A.1).

Likewise, there is much confusion about formal structure. Only the first section of "Gadung Melatih" fits McPhee's description of *tabuh telu* in Semar Pegulingan, while "Semarandana" and "Sumeradas" are similar to his *rangkep* form. "Langsing Tuban" is the longest composition on this disc. The subdivisions of the *gongan* by the instrumental strata can be compared schematically:

Strata:	<i>gong</i>	<i>palet</i>	<i>jegogan</i>	<i>jublag</i> (and <i>ponggang</i>)	<i>figuration</i>	<i>jublag</i> <i>tempo</i> (MM.)
<i>FIRST SECTION (Pengawak):</i>						
"Semarandana"	1	3 $\frac{3}{8}$ (+ $\frac{1}{8}$)	15 $\frac{1}{2}$ (+ $\frac{1}{2}$)	62 (+2)	496 (+16)	45
"Sumeradas"	1	4	16	64	512	39
"Langsing Tuban"	1	4	64	256	2048	45
"Gadung Melatih"	1	4	32	128	512	36
<i>SECOND SECTION (Pengecet):</i>						
"Semarandana"	1	3	6	12	96	68
"Sumeradas"	1	4	8	16	128	53
"Langsing Tuban"	1	4	16	32	256	50
"Gadung Melatih"	1	4	16	32	128	50

The first section of "Semarandana" is consistently irregular in form, both on this disc and field recordings made two years before and after. While *pengecet* normally may show such features, the *pengawak* seldom do. The *gambuh*-style drumming is also cut in the same place (the beginning of the third *palet*), to the surprise of one unprompted Balinese musician who has listened to the recordings. Most likely the composition was orally transmitted with such an error at some time before 1970 and has been standardized in that form. It is difficult for musicians and dancers alike to keep track of their "colotomic locations" in these long *gongan*, and such deletions are not so easy to detect in broad forms; this is one reason why the *gambuh* traditions are no longer very popular. Several conclusions that can be drawn from these examples include the following: 1) the relative density of

jegogan per *gong* is usually halved in the second section; 2) the relative density of *jublag* per *jegogan* is 4 in all first sections and 2 in all second sections; 3) the relative density of figuration per *jublag* is always equal for both sections, usually 8; and 4) the *jublag* tempo increases in the second section by an average of $\frac{1}{3}$.

The performances are very good, aside from occasional disagreement among the middle-strata instruments playing the skeletal melody in the example from Kamasan. The leading melodic instrument in this tradition, the *trompong*, is especially interesting for its styles of ornamentation and anticipation. As we have come to expect from this series, the recording quality is superb. This album is a "must" for any collection of Indonesian music.

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NOTES

1. The 1/16 given for gong/low secondary gong in Seebass et al. 1976:59 is a typographical error and should read 1/18.

2. McPhee (1966:39) gives Pagan's *Sunaren* as beginning on pitch 7, but it is not mentioned with the others again on p. 141. Kamasan is said first to have no *Lebeng* (p. 39), but later it does, beginning on pitch 6 (p. 141). The diagram and text on p. 141 have several other inconsistencies. Schlager gives still different information for the same clubs. Finally, this album's commentary cites Pagan's "Semarandana" as using the *Baro* scale beginning on pitch 4, while other field recordings of the same club, composition and scale have announcements of *Sunaren* as the name.

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Indravox Records

1935? (Seven-tone Semar Pegulingan). One 10" 78 rpm disc. "Tabuh Gari"; "Sekar Gadung."

Kunst, Jaap, and C. J. A. Kunst-v. Wely

1925 *De Toonkunst van Bali*. Weltevreden: G. Kolff & Co.

McPhee, Colin

1966 *Music in Bali: A Study in Form and Instrumental Organization in Balinese Instrumental Music*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press.

Nonesuch Records H-72046

1971 *Gamelan of the Love God: Gamelan Semar Pegulingan*. One 12" 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm stereo disc. Recording (1971) by Robert E. Brown, jacket notes by Brown and Philip B. Yampolsky. Five-tone Semar Pegulingan of Teges Kanginan, Peliatan. (Explorer Series).

OCORA Records OCR 72

1973 *Bali: Divertissements Musicaux et Danses de Transe*. One 12" 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm stereo disc. Recordings (1971) and jacket notes by Gilles Fresnais. Unidentified seven-tone Semar Pegulingan: A.5, "Sekar Gadung," A.6, "Pengawak Lasem."

Seebass, Tilman, I Gusti Bagus Nyoman Panji,

I Nyoman Rembang, and I Poedijono

1976 *The Music of Lombok: A First Survey*. Bern: Francke Verlag. (Forum ethnomusicologicum, Series I: Basler Studien zur Ethnomusikologie, 2).

Toth, Andrew

1978 "Record review, Panji in Lombok I," *Ethnomusicology* 22(2):371-375.

Schlager, Ernst

1960 "La musique de Bali," in *Histoire de la Musique, Encyclopédie de la Pléiade* (Paris: Librairie Gallimard) 1:238-282.

Chimbu Music: Kukane Traditions. Papua New Guinea Vol. 1. Recordings, text, photographs, and presentation by Frederic Duvelle. Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1974. Descriptive notes bound into slipcase, 4 pp., map, photos.

There is no doubt that this disc, along with the two others reviewed here, is a valuable addition to the world's ethnic music repository. Reproduction is clear, and the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies is to be commended on its efforts. Frederic Duvelle (with Paul Kuange) has covered major points in providing a background for understanding the social role of the music. A thorough analysis of the music awaits investigation, as does a total classification of the kinds of song sung by Chimbu people.

All the songs of Side One are from one classification: the courting ceremony. Examples of the playing of paired flutes and jews harp are also included. Side Two contains a variety of non-ceremonial songs, and one of the class of songs sung in mourning. Examples of vertical bamboo flutes and paired horizontal flutes conclude the second side. Since group singing is the norm, one would expect to hear examples of the *sing-sing*.¹ The fight songs especially played an important role in the history of the Highlands. Ceremonies, however, cannot be elicited, and one must be prepared to remain in a village several years to witness all the larger events. Still, one marvels at the technician's ability to produce this record in a village where daily life is so filled with comings and goings. Most recordings made in a Papua village seem to attract extraneous noises such as those from pigs, chickens, birds, crickets and cicadas, babies crying, children playing, people calling from the gardens, and so on, as if to confirm the authenticity of the collection!

Enga Traditional Music. Papua New Guinea Vol. 2. Recordings and presentation by Frederic Duvelle. Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1974. Descriptive notes bound into slipcase, 6 pp., map, photos.

Side One begins with a theme predominant in the songs of Papua New Guinea's Highlands: nostalgia for home (it is not a "work song" in the sense that it accompanies any physical labor). Other songs following it are derived from two prevailing classes—the courting ritual and male initiation. An example of playing the mouth bow is also included.

Side Two is of particular interest, for two reasons. First, it is a field recording, on location at the actual ceremony. Second, the songs are translated, and while this would not in general seem to be an unusual feat, in Papua New Guinea it is. Not only are the Highlands languages very difficult to learn, but song texts are often so brief as to make no grammatical sense. The insider's emic view presumes knowledge of a large context not included in the text. A literal English translation does not render the meaning to an outsider. It necessitates a translation free enough to form complete sentences, filling in the meaning unsung. Often, too, the outsider misses the underlying meaning (hidden talk) of metaphors and parables given in the free translation. Notes and translations by Kundapen Talyagā, an insider, are therefore doubly effective and necessary.

The distinctive *sing-sing* style of the Engas will be missed by all those who have seen this impressive performance, as Chris Owen's cover photograph so well affirms. The listener unacquainted with the mouth bow and the bundle panpipes should know that they produce an intimate, small sound, which is in fact magnified here many times.

Papua New Guinea: Tolari Traditional Music from the Gazelle Peninsula. Recordings, text, photographs, and production by Frederic Duvelle. Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1976. Larrikin Records LRF-013. Descriptive notes, 12 pp., map, photos. (Available from: Larrikin Records Pty., Ltd., P.O. Box 162, Paddington, N.S.W. 2021, Australia).

Duvelle has made a lucid reproduction here of both vocal and instrumental sounds. The recording begins with the playing of a two-note leg xylophone, or *tinbuk*. It is followed by a song sung prior to a magic love ritual (*warbat*). Next come examples of a male initiation song, one from the dance celebrating the Tolai clan's totemic dance figure (*Tubuan*), a dance song (*tabaran*), and mourning song. Side Two commences with a feasting song performed by women, and a men's song whose purpose is to attract a woman (*nami*). These are followed by an instance of playing on the vertical three-hole flute, two funeral songs—a lament, and a song from the final stage of a mourning ceremony (*bot*), when the relatives of the deceased remunerate those attending the ceremony. The recording concludes with a singing game and two examples of slit-drum (*garamut*), and lastly, a lullaby.

The notes by Jacob Simet and Apisai Enos contribute greatly towards understanding the dance types. The variety of idiophones is the most notable feature of this Tolai recording, a variety unmatched on the mainland. The leg xylophone does not exist there, and stamping sticks have all but disappeared. The unison song style, though tending to stronger enunciation of pulse, is related to Highlands singing on the mainland. This is surprising, considering that on the East coast of the mainland—in Morobe and Northern Provinces—there exists a singing style more closely akin to that of Bougainville Island. But provincial borders do not necessarily delineate musical boundaries; styles may be shared along some borders and they may jump across others. Often there are several musical styles within a province. The Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies is wise to concentrate upon one geographic area at a time, since any general statements on the one music of Papua New Guinea, with its multiplicity of cultures, is suspect.

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NOTE

1. "*Sing-sing*" is Neo-Melanesian for the mass singing and dancing of New Guinea peoples. It may be either a social or ceremonial celebration and often takes place in a building or area of land reserved for this use. "*Sing-sing*" may also refer to the songs sung at a *sing-sing* fête. See Chenoweth 1969.

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Chenoweth, Vida

1969 "An Investigation of the Singing Styles of the Dunas," *Oceania* (Sydney) 39(3).

Festival Music from the Solomon Islands: The Bamboo Band and the Pan-pipes. One 12" 33-1/3 rpm disc. 1976. Hibiscus HLS-66. Jacket notes.

Festival Music from Hawaii: The Hawaiian Festival Contingent. One 12" 33-1/3 rpm disc. 1976. Hibiscus HLS-71. Jacket notes.

Festival Music from Western Samoa: The Western Samoa Festival Performers. One 12" 33-1/3 rpm disc. 1976. Hibiscus HLS-72. Jacket notes.

Festival Music from the Cook Islands: Cook Islands National Arts Theatre. One 12" 33-1/3 rpm disc. 1977. Hibiscus HLS-73. Jacket notes.

Festival Music from Tonga: The Tongan Festival Contingent. One 12" 33-1/3 rpm disc. 1976. Hibiscus HLS-74. Jacket notes.

Although not stated on the jackets, these five discs were recorded at the second South Pacific Festival of Arts, held at Rotorua, New Zealand, from March 6-13, 1976. The first Festival was held at Suva, Fiji, in 1972 and yielded some 22 commercially-available releases (Hibiscus HE-10, HLS-38-43, HLS 46, HLS 48-50, SLC-117; Viking VP 353-4, VP 358-65). Hibiscus, which received sole rights to the Rotorua Festival, is planning future releases of the groups from Australia, Easter Island, Gilbert Islands, Niue, Tahiti, Torres Strait Islands, Tuvalu, and the Ocean Island Banabans. Although the amount of information supplied by the performers was probably minimal, there is often a regrettable lack of standardized spelling.¹ Genres and song titles are used interchangeably, and performers are seldom identified. Considering the importance of the visual element to Festival performances, more description of dances and more photographs would have been helpful to the listener. I have tried to coordinate selected biblio- and discographic information to make these recordings more valuable.

There have been many recent releases of music, for example, from the Solomon Islands, but concentration on traditional forms has excluded the unique branch of pan-Pacific pop found in this area. The Hibiscus disc offers a sampling of 'Are'are panpipe music (A.4, 7; B.5), a choral arrangement of a dance song (B.1), and examples of the bamboo band (A.1-3, A.5-6, B.2-4, B.6-7). The 'au paina panpipe ensemble (featured also on Vogue LDM 30104) uses instruments of 11-12 pipes and consists of 8 musicians (the cover only shows 7) who play in two-part polyphony, each part quadrupled at the octave (Zemp 1972:25-8). Band A.4, *suru 'au*, is the first piece in a set of 11; Band B.5, *roko 'au*, is the last (cf. Vogue LDM 30104, A.1 and B.11). In addition, this ensemble performs an instrumental version of a funeral lament, a genre called *amamata* or *aamamata*.² It would be fruitful to compare the performances on the Hibiscus disc—by a group sent to the Festival as representative of the Solomons—with those obtained by Zemp from a group not involved in such a situation. The influence of Protestant missionaries is shown in the multipart, hymn-like song accompanying a men's dance from the western Solomons, a dance that apparently mimics the movements of the *bilikiki*, a large white bird with a flat bill, and gives it its name (B.1; also on Viking VP 358, B.4).

The bamboo band consists of the usual pan-Pacific ensemble of voices and guitars, but adds an instrument made from 15-24 pieces of bamboo tied together. The open ends of the tubes are struck with coconut husks, the pith of the sago palm, a rubber sandal, or a wooden paddle, not with the hand as shown on the cover of this disc. After earlier experimentation with stamping tubes on New Georgia Island, in 1958 the people of Ganongga Island tied several lengths of bamboo together, enabling performers to play in confined spaces. This instrument provides a boogie-woogie accompaniment to multipart love songs sung with guitars. Though not declared on the record, the language of the texts is Roviana,

spoken in the southwestern part of New Georgia and formerly used as a lingua franca by the Methodist Mission. Bamboo band music is confined to the western Solomons except for its appearance in the capital, Honiara, on Guadalcanal. In the central and eastern areas, popular music is of the guitar-ukulele type (Zemp, personal communication). The first lines of the texts are given in Roviana and English. The corrected title of Band A.1 is "Dalingi lomosodi mua zinama" (correct on the label, misprinted on the jacket), and A.3 should read "Kinomolo goi dia." Another change makes B.2 "Pok pokonia rau sa tinazutumu goi dalingi"; however, "pok" is not a possible work in Roviana—the translation is insufficient, the enunciation of the singers not clear enough, and the bamboo striking too overmiked to help in deciphering the actual title. This recording, as a companion to the other fine discs from the Solomons, offers an excellent overall picture of the different forms of music in the area.

The background notes to the Hawaii disc are distressingly error-laden. Since Captain Cook found inhabitants there in 1778, he was clearly not the discoverer, but the first European visitor. Hawaii numbers 132 islands, 7 of which are inhabited. Finally, Mauna Loa last erupted in 1975, not 1907.

The Hawaiian Festival Contingent, under the direction of Iolani Luahine, performs 22 items in all. After introductory calls on the *pū* (conch shell), an *oli* (poetry not intended for dancing) is performed in honor of Laka, goddess of the *hula*. All other items are *mele hula*, poetry with dance accompaniment. The *hula* is often classified according to the instrument(s) accompanying it (see Roberts 1926:17-56 for descriptions of the instruments): *hula 'ulī'ulī* (A.2); *hula pahu* (A.3, B.6), the most elevated type of *hula*; *hula 'ilī'ili* (A.6, B.1); *hula pā ipu* or *hula kuolo* (A.9, B.3; the notes for B.2 and B.3 are reversed); *hula kāla'au* (B.5, misspelled on the jacket); and *hula pū'ili* (B.7). The human body is used as an instrument in the *hula pa'i umauma* (B.9, also misspelled on the jacket).

Also included are examples of the *hula noho* (sitting *hula*); *hula 'āla'apapa*, now called *hula 'ōlapa* (A.7, B.4, 8; a standing version of the *hula pā ipu*); *hula 'ōhelo* or *hula helo* (A.11; a seldom-performed dance in which "the dancer leans over on one side, supporting himself with one hand, and with the opposite foot and arm making a sawing motion; many *mele 'ōhelo* have sexual import" [Pukui and Elbert 1971:255]); *hula ku'i Moloka'i* (B.2; a dance imitative of various sports on the island of Moloka'i); and *hula 'ai ha'a* (B.10, misspelled on the jacket; a dance "characterized by a low, standing position, bent knees, and a typical rotating of the hips, 'ami" [Tatar 1978:187]).

The group presents a *mele ma'i*, a chant composed at the birth of a monarch in honor of his or her genitals—in this case Kamehameha IV (A.10), whose nickname was Iolani, not Lolani. Finally, there are two *hula* identified only as *kane* (A.4; "Maika'i ke anu o Waimea"), which is *not* a term for a *hula* but for "male," and a "gesture *hula*" (A.8; "Aia moka'i ko'iva"). A number of the chants deviate from unison singing and introduce an occasional or more extensive multipart texture (A.5-6, 9-10, B.1, 4, 7, 8b). Further examples of most of the genres listed above appear on Folkways FE 4271, FW 8750; National Geographic 706; Noelani NRS-102; and Poki SP 9003. Transcriptions of other versions and/or texts for some of the bands may be found in other sources: A.1b (Emerson 1909:33-4 and Roberts 1926:135-37); A.3 (Emerson 1909:105 and Kaeppler 1976:211); A.7 (Emerson 1909:70); A.10 (Noelani NRS-102); A.11 (Emerson 1909:233-34); and B.7 (Emerson 1909:114-15 and Roberts 1926:305-06).

One regrets that more care was not taken to supply correct diacriticals. The

macron is entirely omitted, and the glottal stop appears only sporadically; the following corrections should be made: "Wai'ale'ale" (A.3), "wa'a" (A.7), "mālua" (B.7), "ho'opuka" and "lā" (B.8a), "Ni'ihau" (B.9), and "Kamapua'a" (B.10). Spelling discrepancies also occur between the label and the jacket: for example, A.6 should read "I hea okolani." In many of the performances there is an over-emphasis of the accompanying instruments, thereby obscuring the text.

Contrary to the notes on the Samoan disc, Western Samoa neither lies at the center of Polynesia (rather, at the western end) nor consists of only four islands (rather, nine). The recorded material contrasts sharply with that issued by Richard Moyle (Hibiscus HLS-55), but is more representative of the contemporary music scene. The syncretism of hymn-singing and traditional Polynesian polyphony is evident in the multipart songs accompanied by the *fala* (a pandanus floor mat, rolled with lengths of bamboo or empty bottles inside) found throughout this record (A.1-3; B.1-3, 5-7). Arranged according to the order of a *fiafia* ("entertainment"), most of the genres are also of recent origin (Moyle 1971:50-51). After the opening *pese o le feiloa'iga* (A.1, "song of welcome"), a *soa 'āmata* is danced by the *tāupou*. Traditionally the virgin ceremonial daughter of the chief, the *tāupou* is now appointed by the paramount chief from female relatives, who often may be married with children. In the notes, *tamālī'i* should refer to the chiefs of the village, not their siblings. The *soa 'āmata* is an example of *laulausiva*, a costumed dance that commences an evening of song and dance (cf. Hibiscus HLS-55, B.4-5). A women's dance about making tapa cloth (A.3, *siva o le siapo*) is followed by the first break from the chorus-*fala* texture. The *patiso* (A.4) uses an intoned text (*solo* is a type of chanting used in some forms of poetry), slapping and clapping (*pai* is clapping with the hands held parallel). Other than in its intonation, however, this version of the *solo* seems to bear little resemblance to the traditional genre (cf. Moyle 1971: taped example no. 9). The side ends with a small group singing a multipart song with *kilele* (guitar) accompaniment, concerning the kava ceremony (A.5, *pese o le 'ava*).

Many short, modern songs, returning to the chorus-*fala* medium, are presented on Side B—unidentified love songs (B.1, *pese o alofa'aga*), a "modern medley" (B.2, "Mua ō, mua ō," "Fīlēmū pei o le lupe," "Sāmoa e pele i lo'u agāga"), and welcoming songs (B.5, *pese fa'afeiloa'i*: "Fa'auta o le mea mātagōfie," "O fetū o le taeao," "I le taeao," "Tuli mai"). "Lamagā fe'e" (B.3) is a song based on a legend in which a rat defecates on the head of an octopus (*fe'e*), who becomes furious. As a consequence, the octopus can be lured with rat-shaped bait. "Lama" refers to another method of luring octopuses with torches.

Band B.4 presents the *sāsā*, a sitting dance without song, accompanied only by the *pātē*, the smallest Samoan slit-drum. The *pātē* rhythm is changed to signal a change in dance movements (Moyle 1971:791-92). The *sāsā* seems to be the only sitting dance still performed in Samoa (ibid.:102) and is one of the only traditional items on this disc. The *fiafia* concludes with the penultimate *fa'atafiti* (referring to the coconut leaves placed on the roof of a house before the final covering) and the closing *taualuga* (the final roofing), danced by the *tāupou* with others who try to win her attention by clowning (*'aiuli*) (ibid.:800-01). The cover illustrates performers holding *nifo'oti* knives, used in the *'ailao* dance (not included on this record). The disc does offer items significantly different from those presented by American Samoa at the Suva Festival—only Band B.2b is duplicated (Viking VP 360, A.2, although the title is incorrect).

The repertoire included on the recording of music from the Cook Islands is the

most disappointing of the lot since most of it duplicates items found on other recordings by the National Arts Theatre (Hibiscus HLS-38, 50; Viking VP 361, 398). Established in October 1969 by Victor Carell and Beth Dean (Dean 1969), the group is under the leadership of Ota Joseph. In addition to performing traditional dances and songs, a variety of Cook Islands legends have been adapted for dramatic presentation, which seems to conflict with the traditional role of music and dance in Polynesia, in which "the dancer does not become a character in a drama, and his stylized gestures do not correspond to words or ideas as they do in literature-inspired dance traditions of Indonesia and Southeast Asia" (Christensen and Kaeppler 1976:456). In fact, these adaptations seem to be airport art—"dance in which the casual observer can be entertained or astonished without understanding and may, in fact, lead to misunderstanding of [traditional] Polynesian culture rather than appreciation in cross-cultural perspective" (Kaeppler 1977:82; see, however, Buck 1927:xxi). Of the three items on the disc relating to these dramatic interpretations, two are presented complete, "The Legend of Tua Enuu" (A.7) and "The Legend of Ru and his Canoe Voyage" (B.3; the story is in Buck 1927:xix), while the third is a song extracted from "The Legend of Miru" (A.4).

Drum ensembles consisting of *pate* (slit-drum) and *pa'u* (skin drum) are featured on A.1, B.2, and B.4. An indigenous song type is represented by a *karakia* (A.2), an unaccompanied, recited incantation or invocation performed by men (McLean, in press). Two forms, most likely introduced from Tahiti during the 19th century are also presented. The *imene tuki* (B.1) is a setting of a biblical text (in this case, John I:1-5), performed by a chorus divided into 6-7 parts. The two main parts are sung by groups of men and women, respectively. Added to these are two upper solo women's parts and one or two upper solo men's parts, in addition to the *tuki*, the distinctive rhythmic grunting by men (ibid.). *Ute* (A.3), divided into parts similar to the *imene*, are primarily love songs and topical songs. In contrast to the *imene*, they may be accompanied by guitar, ukulele, harmonica, or accordion (ibid.). Examples of Tahitian *himene* and *ute* are found on Tiare Tahiti SST-1800. "Taku manu e" (A.5) is perhaps the best-known action song from the Cook Islands (Dean 1976:48-75 contains the text, choreography, and has an accompanying recording). Additionally, a previously unrecorded women's action song about Sir Albert Henry, former Premier of the Cooks, is included (A.6). The album ends with the Lord's Prayer sung in Rarotongan.

The record representing Tonga includes examples of three dance genres (A.1, A.3, B.2) performed by the Tongan Festival Contingent (also on Hibiscus HLS-39, 40) and two nose-flute pieces played by the Hon. Ve'ehala, Tonga's Minister of Culture (in addition to the Hibiscus discs, other examples of most of these genres may be found on National Geographic 3516 and Viking VP 364).

The dances illustrate two ancient forms (*ula* and *'otuhaka*) that are no longer created and one living form (*lakalaka*). Band B.2 presents three short *'otuhaka* in which the women dancers are seated in a single curved row and allusively interpret the poetry by their movements. Although traditionally accompanied by the *tafua* (corresponding to the Samoan *fala*), today it may be performed unaccompanied or with some other struck instruments, in this case, apparently a *nafa* skin drum. Included is a long introduction of clapping and *nafa* only, used for hand movements (Kaeppler 1970:271-72).

Traditionally following the *'otuhaka* is the *ula*, not *faha'iula* [sic, for *fa'ahiula*, another name for *'otuhaka*; *faha'i* is a common mispronunciation of *fa'ahi* (Churchward 1959:19)] (A.1), as identified on the jacket. The notes, how-

ever, do describe the *ula* and the continuous repetition of two phrases in the recording furthers this identification. While the *fa'ahiula* uses the same hand and arm movements as the *ula*, the latter "does not interpret the words [as does the *fa'ahiula*], instead *ula* is more important for beauty of movements and dignity of women and their movements" (Kaepler 1967b:248). Performers for this dance are chosen for their ability in dancing rather than being placed according to social status (Kaepler 1970:275). This Band consists of two *ula*, both accompanied by the *nafa*.

Neither of the previous dances were living forms (Kaepler 1970:266-67). Kaepler has argued that the *lakalaka* (A.3) arose as the *me'elaufola* dance fell into disuse after the missionaries' arrival (1967a:523-26, 531-34). Today it is the most important living dance in Tonga. The *lakalaka* is performed at formal occasions by men and women standing in two or more rows facing the audience, men on one side, women on the other. The men's movements "are virile and vigorous while the women's are soft and graceful." A chorus, called *langitu'a*, stands behind the dancers and sings with them unaccompanied (Kaepler 1967c:263-64). The *lakalaka* performed here was composed by one of the most prolific composers of the genre, Queen Sālote III (d. 1965).

The two remaining items feature Ve'ehala playing the *fangufangu*, a nose-flute. According to Moyle (1976:71), Ve'ehala claims all nose-flute compositions to be called *tukipotu* in imitation of the sound the *tu* bird makes over the loss of feathers during grooming. In fact, the full title of A.2 is "Tukipotu 'a e tu" ("Tukipotu of the *tu*"). Ve'ehala, however, also performs a version of a *tau'a'alo* (a chant sung while rowing)³ (B.1). The implication in the notes that the *fangufangu* was the traditional instrument for the *tau'a'alo* is unsubstantiated.

Although the notes for these discs are insufficient and occasionally inaccurate, the recordings are an important addition to the meager number available from Oceania. One hopes that the Festival can continue to be represented on commercial releases and that more scholarly studies can also be encouraged.

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NOTES

1. In this review spellings follow Waterhouse 1928 and Zemp 1972 (Solomon Is.), Pukui and Elbert 1971 (Hawaii), Milner 1966 (Samoa), Savage 1962 (Cook Is.), and Churchward 1959 (Tonga).

2. A sung version of an *aamamata* is found on Vogue LDM 30106, A.5. Other instrumental adaptations of *aamamata* are on Vogue LDM 30104, B.4 ('*au paina* ensemble), Vogue LDM 30106, A.6b (*pasiawa*, musical bow), and Vogue LDM 30106, A.9a ('*au ware*, obliquely-held bundle panpipes).

3. Sung versions of *tau'a'alo* are found on Hibiscus HLS-39, A.2; HLS-65, B.4-6; National Geographic 3516, A.4; Viking VP 364, A.1.

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Drums of West Africa: Ritual Music of Ghana. Recording and notes by Richard Hill. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. [1977]. Lyricord LLST 7307. Stereo. Jacket notes, map, mus. illus.

The dance drumming of the southern Ewe is among the best represented of world musics on American campuses and has been the subject of several lengthy ethnomusicological analyses (e.g., Jones 1959, Pantaleoni 1972). Unfortunately, satisfactory field recordings of this music are relatively scarce and many ethnomusicologists are acquainted only with the drumming of student groups led by African artists (e.g., Ladzekpo). Into this vacuum has come a new Lyricord disc, which provides clear examples of southern Ewe polyrhythmic drumming and, more important, singing and drumming from a religious cult ceremony in progress.

There are two kinds of music on this album: Side One—apparently taped in formal recording sessions—contains dance club drumming, while Side Two features music of the Blekete cult recorded during actual ceremonies. The dance club pieces—which include Atsiagbekor,¹ Agbadza, and Adzida—are recorded with good balance among instruments so that each part in the drum ensemble is clearly audible. Students of southern Ewe drumming can hear a wholly Ewe ensemble play with correct timing and inflection in true tempi. Teachers of world music survey courses can find excellent examples here of West African polyrhythmic drumming, especially in respect of responsorial interplay. The flavor of a live performance is not found on Side One, however, since the excitement of drummers playing for dancers is not felt, and there is no singing.

Side Two more accurately portrays the ambience of southern Ewe music. The material, organized according to the typical sequence of musical events in a Blekete cult ceremony, begins with Cult Songs followed by—to use Hill's etic terminology—Ceremony Proper, Possession Sequence, Invocation, Drum Calls, and Finale. Despite time limits the selections are sensitively edited, the listener being able to partake of the drama of spirit possession, the power of Blekete cult drumming, and the beauty of southern Ewe singing.

Hill, a drummer in jazz and Latin styles himself, is a student of southern Ewe drumming and his notes, reflecting this interest, contain accurate and readable charts of several polyrhythmic textures as well as transcriptions of a few leading drum patterns. His two- and three-tone systems of writing leading drum rhythms, however, do not adequately represent the eight basic drum strokes; furthermore, it would have been better to include metronome markings, particularly because Blekete cult drumming includes probably the fastest paced southern Ewe music.

Hill neglects to mention that the tension drum (*dondo*) is used in Blekete cult music, and also that the 2/4 style of this music is not presented on the disc. One error occurs in the notation: the final note in the last figure should be an eighth note. Finally, neither the musicians nor the particular Blekete cult is identified, an omission that raises grave questions of ethics.

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NOTE

1. I think that it is improper to represent a music as important to the southern Ewe people as Atsiagbekor by the incomplete selections found on this disc (see Locke 1979).

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Roots of the Blues. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1977. New World NW 252. Mono/Stereo. Descriptive notes by Alan Lomax bound into slipcase, 4 pp., biblio., disco.

Jake Walk Blues. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1978. Stash ST-110. Texts inside slipcase, 2 pp., jacket notes. (Available from: Stash Records, P.O. Box 390, Brooklyn, NY 11215).

Alan Lomax's credentials as a collector of black folk music are well known to, but perhaps insufficiently appreciated by, a younger generation of folklorists and ethnomusicologists. His involvement dates from the period between the two World Wars when, with his father and a small number of other pioneers, he made hundreds of field recordings for the Archive of Folk Song in the Library of Congress, many of which were later released on 78s and LPs. These field recordings played a large part in shaping folklorists' understanding of the sound of black folk music at a time when it was otherwise being presented to whites in the decorous and often bloodless performances of professional black singers. His recordings served as inspiration to dozens of later fieldworkers, and are essential listening even today. In 1947 Lomax made a brilliant series of field recordings of work songs and other types of black folk music in the Mississippi State Penitentiary at Parchman. When they were released (on Tradition TLP 1020 and Vogue [U.K.] VJD 515) he had the foresight to include the singers' comments on the songs, in their own voices, in the grooves of the LP. In the summer of 1959 Lomax returned to the South to record more folk music, the result being more than a dozen LPs on the Prestige and Atlantic labels. No field collector of black American folk music has come close to matching the range and quality of Lomax's recordings.

The title of the album at hand, *Roots of the Blues*, invites comparison with an earlier LP of the same title, also produced by Lomax and released on Atlantic 1348. Since both LPs draw on the music recorded in the 1959 field trip, many of the same performers reappear, but apart from one song there is no duplication of repertoire. The music on the New World LP is of greater variety, and includes work songs, string band dance songs, a panpipe solo, religious songs, and blues. The performances are authentic and uniformly good, as is the sound quality.

In the jacket notes Lomax is at his evocative best, conjuring up the cultural settings of the music so palpably that the listener is transported to the scene. This

ability is all too rare in scholarly writing, which, seeking a neutral and bias-free viewpoint, achieves only a flat, wooden prose that fails to evoke the mood and impact of the musical performance. Typically, Lomax supplies here illuminating anecdotes and offers bold speculations. For example, the cantometric profile of the blues is less African than the blues' immediate predecessors, and this observation leads Lomax to a far-reaching analogy. He finds in the blues style a counterpart to the "bardic style" of "old high culture" (Lomax 1968)—the ancient civilizations stretching from North Africa to East Asia, where the rigidity of the social structure was symbolized by highly ornamented solo song and chant, wherein the alienated individual "cries out his troubles to some powerful figure—the landlord, the emperor, the gods, or his unattainable ladylove."

Lomax offers the corollary that blacks invented the blues when they did—that is, shortly before the turn of the 20th century—because they were among the first to feel the increasing social rigidity and alienation in modern America. The widespread acceptance, continuing popularity, and persistent influence of the blues in the Western world suggest to Lomax that its black inventors were indeed prescient. In the sweep of such bold speculation throughout the notes to this album, fine distinctions that might prove troublesome are inevitably overlooked. The notes, however, are insightful, the selections are well chosen, and the album as a whole is a worthy addition to the series.

All the songs on *Jake Walk Blues* are concerned with Jake, a bottled concoction of ginger extract and alcohol that was sold (mixed with Coca-cola to make a potent drink) during the 1920s. A contaminated batch of Jake, which paralyzed several thousand people in 1930, gave rise to the commercial blues and hillbilly 78s reissued on this anthology. The performances are competent but in no way remarkable. The album is interesting because this macabre incident became the subject of a group of songs that expressed—in the words of the annotator, John P. Morgan, M.D.—"some sympathy, but more often a fatalistic, even humorous view" of the unfortunate, poisoned victim.

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Brighten the Corner Where You Are: Black and White Urban Hymnody. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1978. New World NW 224. Mono. Descriptive notes by Anthony Heilbut (Black Urban Hymnody) and Harry Eskew (White Urban Hymnody), 6 pp., biblio., disco.

Psalm Singing of the Covenanters. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1977. Prairie Schooner PSI-102. Stereo. Descriptive notes, texts, 8 pp., disco. (Available from: Prairie Schooner Records, P.O. Box 3022, University City, MO 63130).

The first disc continues the high level of commentary, choice of material, and quality of recorded sound that has come to be associated with New World

Records' documentation of American music. Side One presents examples from the midpoint of the development of black gospel song. Side Two consists of material drawn from the white urban gospel movement.

Bands 1-4 of Side One contain selections performed by the Kings of Harmony, the Famous Blue Jays of Alabama, the Soul Stirrers, and the Fairfield Four—all excellent examples of early, post-jubilee, male gospel groups. Pioneer male groups, their song material, and their audiences were not particularly associated with the urban milieu. On the other hand the Roberta Martin Singers, heard on Band 5, reflect the urban movement, which began in the early 1930s, and which merged the vocal and instrumental practices heard in black sanctified churches with musical elements drawn from existing jazz styles. Band 6 presents sanctified singer-guitarist Rosetta Tharpe in a duet with her mother Katie Bell Nubin. Pioneer gospel singers Willie May Ford and Marion Williams are heard on Bands 7 and 8. Since Marion Williams is heard to better advantage on the album sets *The Gospel Sound* (CG-31086) and *The Gospel Sound Vol. 2* (CG-31595), it would have enhanced the value of this album to have substituted another pioneer female singer such as Clara Hudman (The Georgia Peach), whose singing is not presently available on reissues. Other significant early jubilee-gospel groups are unavailable on recordings, and one therefore wonders why six minutes of recording time was left unused on Side One.

Heilbut's commentary and notes reflect his intimate knowledge of the social history of black gospel music. Scholars interested in musical-stylistic analysis should consult the dissertations of Ricks (recently published, 1977) or Raichelson (1975). Samuel B. Charters' album *An Introduction to [Black] Gospel Song* (RBF Records RF 5), as well as Heilbut's own two *Gospel Sound* sets mentioned above, ought to have been included in the Selected Discography provided for the material on Side One.

Harry Eskew's contribution to this album is both scholarly and artistic. He has chosen nine selections that illustrate the various performance practices and styles of hymnody heard in urban tabernacle revival services. In addition, he has positioned the material so that the listener might imagine being present at an actual service. Included are gospel solos ("The Ninety and Nine" sung by George Beverly Shea, "Brighten the Corner," sung by Homer Rodeheaver, and "Saved by Grace," sung by Gypsy Smith), a duet ("In the Garden," sung by Mrs. Wm. Asher and Homer Rodeheaver), a quartet ("Nearer My God to Thee," sung by Oscar Seagle and unidentified quartet), congregational singing ("We're Marching to Zion," congregation of the Ridgecrest, North Carolina Baptist Conference Center), and choir ("To God be the Glory," Billy Graham London Crusade Choir).

While Eskew's commentary regarding the social and musical aspects of gospel song is generally excellent, neither he nor Heilbut take advantage of the opportunity to relate white and black gospel song. Perhaps most important in this regard would have been some discussion of the responsorial and antiphonal practice, a structural characteristic that George Pullen Jackson (1954) observed became "a salient feature of gospel song." James C. Downey, whose thesis (1963) remains the best study to date of the genre, noted that 39 of the 100 gospel songs he analyzed had response or antiphony (he described this feature as "answer effects" or "interjections"). This element in particular became a predominant feature of black gospel practice, and was later transferred to the singing of black rhythm and blues groups, and subsequently to the singing of white rock vocal groups. One

final criticism: Eskew lists five items in his Selected Discography, but three of those issued by Old Time Music are no longer available.

The Reformed Presbyterians of North America—or Covenanters—are a small denomination transplanted from Scotland to America. The singing practice within this denomination is unique in that it is limited to the unaccompanied singing of psalms. This disc documents the congregational singing of several churches—two in Southern Illinois and a black congregation in Selma, Alabama—of the last branch of Presbyterians in America that has not yet accepted the singing of hymns. The transition to hymn singing in most English-speaking churches was facilitated by means of the singing of an intermediate body of song: the psalm paraphrases. Another branch of the Presbyterian Church in America—the Associate Reformed Presbyterians—gave up exclusive psalmody in 1946. One church of that denomination, the Mt. Zion congregation of Troy, Missouri, has maintained exclusive psalmody through the use of psalm paraphrases called “Bible Songs” by the denomination. One example of their singing (accompanied on the organ) is included on the disc.

The psalm tunes are identified in the notes by name only, and since the composers are not identified, confusion results where several tunes have the same name—as is true with Psalm 118 (Side B, Band 6). The tune is named as “Jackson.” One finds a “Jackson” as No. 161 in George Pullen Jackson (1952) and also on page 317 of the *Original Sacred Harp* (Denson Revision 1960 Edition), but neither of these tunes is the one heard on Band 6, which was composed by Thomas Jackson (1715-81).

The commentary accompanying the album is often frustrating. For an explanation of some points, for example, the reader is asked to “see the book which accompanies this record.” Neither the title nor the publisher of the book is given, and the reviewer has been unable to locate a copy. This record would be of interest, nevertheless, to scholars of both folk and religious music in America.

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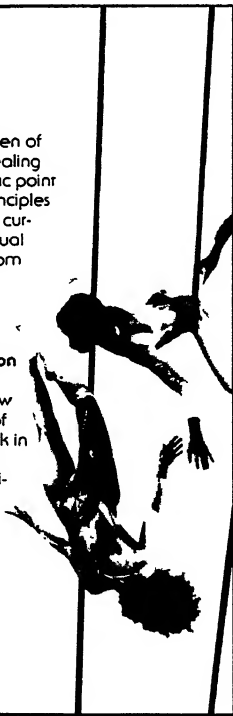
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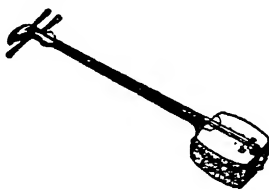
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WHAT CAN WE LEARN WHEN THEY SING? VOCAL GENRES OF THE SUYA INDIANS OF CENTRAL BRAZIL

Anthony Seeger

The native music of Lowland South America is little known, less analyzed, and hardly understood at all. There are a number of reasons for this neglect, among them the isolation and small size of the groups and the terrible process by which many native societies are decimated by disease and so threatened with the loss of their lands, cultures, and lives that they do not feel much like making music. But another reason for the neglect is that we do not understand what we hear; we do not understand what the music is all about. The music of these societies is truly a different music in which (in most cases) everybody performs, there are no full-time musical specialists, the sounds are not always "easy" to listen to, a "piece" may last 15 hours, and there is no easily accessible vocabulary with which to discover what they are doing. One is not surprised that musicians have preferred to work with the music of musical specialists in other parts of the world, nor that anthropologists have felt ill-equipped and left the matter to marginal comments on song texts and frequent statements to the effect that "music is very important to the members of this society." Unsurprising as it may be, the resulting neglect is nevertheless unfortunate, because music is indeed very important.

Regardless of how "importance" is measured, the amount of time and resources devoted to music by the entire population of most Lowland South American societies is eloquent. Analyses of work habits show that subsistence could be assured with 3 or 4 hours of work a day under traditional conditions (Carneiro 1961); members of many societies sing nearly this long every day for long periods of time. Yet how much more we know about the socio-economic features of these societies than the musical!

Music is a special form of communication. Its very nonspeech features make it a privileged vehicle for transmitting values and ethos that are more easily "musicked" than put into speech. These are communicated not only through the sounds, but in the movements of the performers, and the time, place, and conditions under which they are performed. In the following pages I will discuss some of the things we can

learn from two musical genres, the *akia* and the *ngere*, of the Suyu Indians of Central Brazil. *Akia* are individually sung or shouted songs, in a high register, with characteristic melody lines and performance style. *Ngere* are unison songs performed in a low register. The meaning of the sounds produced in these genres, and the way they are produced, varies according to genre and performance context. An understanding of what is going on in these vocal musics can bring a new depth to our understanding of Suyu society and, by extension, of other lowland South American societies, and of music itself.

Learning about Suyu music has not been easy. What I have learned comes partly from sheer persistence—repeated trips to the field where, between bouts of participating in music making, I have listened carefully as new songs were taught and singers commented on. Only when equipped with a vocabulary of musical terms and a number of intuitive leads could I begin to work more systematically. But the (limited) musical vocabulary was only one of the necessary tools. As my analysis of other parts of the Suyu cosmological system took shape (Seeger 1974) the special role of music has been correspondingly clarified and opened to further investigation.

Charles Seeger, in a number of publications (for example 1977), noted the difficulty of speaking about musical performance. The situation is particularly difficult in societies with little tendency toward such kinds of analytic speech. But there are other than linguistic resources at our disposal for understanding music—if not for communicating with our colleagues about it. All music-making has spatial, temporal, gestural, actor-specific components, which are also fundamentally not speech. These components may be more accessible to analysis than sounds. Suyu cosmology, for example, is expressed with special clarity in space—above all in village space (Seeger 1978). Thus *where* a musical event occurs reveals much as to its meaning. Similarly, the stance and movements of the dancer are usually metaphorically related to a highly meaning-laden domain such as the body, or the ways that animals move. These domains have long been tapped by anthropologists in their analysis of belief systems, and they can be helpful in understanding musical events. There will probably always remain something in music that can be felt only by talented natives or socialized listeners. I cannot pretend to avoid all of the difficulties of speech and music, but I have tried to make a frontal attack on Suyu musical events through an analysis of the total context in which they occur and by relying heavily on non-linguistic cues for the analysis.

The danger of analyzing music separately from other parts of a people's artistic, philosophical, and social life is shown in two examples of how the Suyu combine what we have tended to separate, the concept of "song" and the aesthetics of singing.

Whenever I sang, the Suya called what I was doing *ngere*. But *ngere* means both a song (melody) and the movements that accompany it. Stance and dance are thus an integral part of music, all part of a single communicative act called *ngere*. At a more specific level of contrast *ngere* means a unison song as opposed to the *akia*; at a more general level *ngere* means "ceremony," including the whole range of activities, songs, and movements that characterize Suya musical occasions.

The essential unity of sound and movement became quite clear to me in 1978, when a battery-operated record player had appeared in the village. Women would sometimes imitate the social dancing of the regional Brazilians, shuffling around to the sound of a record. The men called this "*kot ngre*" (*kot* translates as "accompany," *ngre* as sing or dance or both"). Clearly the word I have translated "song" can also mean exclusively the movements accompanying a piece, as well as only the sound itself (as when heard on a record). Sound and movement are identified as part of a single event.

In 1978 I tried to discover the aesthetic variables in *akia*. I wanted to find out what makes a good performance, who is a good singer, which *akia* are more beautiful than others, and details of performance style as perceived and evaluated by other Suya. I took a number of previous recordings and discussed them with various men. Careful questioning revealed that people praise the singing of their kinsmen and faction members and criticize the singing of the others. I also discovered that it is not so important *how* a person sings but that he sings at all. People who sing a lot express their "happiness" (*kin*, a kind of existential happiness), and their support for the way things are. People who do not sing are implicitly saying that they are not "happy." They may be in mourning for a dead relative, be angry about something, or have a particular grudge. As I worked, I realized that Suya music aesthetics involved more than simply an evaluation of the sounds produced by the singer.

This apparent "lack of definition" of the "purely musical" domain is in fact a clear statement of something very different: in a society where everyone makes music, "making music" is also dancing, politicking, and a moment when people communicate something about themselves. These aspects of musical events are not restricted to the Suya. But the very clarity with which the Suya musical events demonstrate that music making is a complex event in which structured sounds are an integral and important part, but only a part, can remind us of our own tendencies. Musical events are complex when a President of the United States invites musicians to the White House, or plays the piano. Individual political positions are involved in whether a person stands for the National Anthem, and how that person sings it. Suya music can remind us of important features of our own art forms.

Given that making music is more than making structured sounds, the best approach to musical events is to analyze the total event by investigating the journalistic questions "what," "where," "how," "when," "by whom," "to whom," "why," and the like. The answers to these questions will provide an ethnography of musical performance with which any analysis should begin. Such an ethnography is not suitable for a short article, however, and I will instead concentrate specifically on what is being musicked in the two genres under consideration.¹

Before taking up the subject of music and communication, a brief excursion through other features of Suyá society is necessary. Only in this way can the subsequent affirmations about Suyá music be evaluated.

THE SUYÁ AND THE GÊ DILEMMAS

The Gê speaking societies of central Brazil, and those societies related to them, have for decades provided some of the anomalies in anthropology. First described by Nimuendajú (1939, 1942, 1946), theorized about by Lévi-Strauss (1952, 1956), and restudied by members of the Harvard-Central Brazil Project under the direction of David Maybury-Lewis (Maybury-Lewis 1967, in press; Da Matta 1976, in press; Melatti 1978; and a number of unpublished doctoral dissertations) as well as by other researchers (Vidal 1977, Carneiro da Cunha 1978, Seeger 1974), the complexities of Gê social organization are beginning to yield to comparative study. Gê have presented three puzzles to researchers: the size of the villages, the multiplicity of social groups that are often not based on descent, and the long and elaborate ceremonial periods.

The Gê language family can be divided into the Northern, Central, and Southern Gê whose members occupied a vast stretch of the interior of Brazil from southern Pará to Rio Grande do Sul, before colonization reduced them to isolated areas within their former territory. In addition to the Gê language group there are a number of loosely-affiliated groups called the "macro-Gê" and some societies of other language families whose social organization more closely resembles that of the Gê speakers than the language group to which they belong (for example the Tupi-speaking Tapirapé and Mundurucú). Rather than thinking of these central Brazilian societies as a language family, it is more productive to think of them as a group of societies whose different social organizations and cultures reveal overall similarities—to consider them a kind of theme in variations. A limited number of principles are operating in them, but they operate slightly differently and with different results in each case. Since the Northern Gê resemble each other more than they do the Central Gê,

and the Central Gê are also closely related groups among themselves, these central Brazilian societies present an interesting case for "controlled comparison" of the kind suggested by Eggan (1954). Hypotheses raised with respect to one group can be tested for, and the nature of their variation observed in, other groups. This kind of comparative work has begun in the domains of kinship and social organization (Maybury-Lewis, in press), in cosmology (Lévi-Strauss 1964) and would be possible in music were there sufficient studies. Most of the Northern and Central Gê societies are musically quite active in spite of contact pressures, yet the only detailed study to date is that of Desidério Aytai (1976).

The Suya belong to the Northern Gê group, which also includes the Timbira Groups—Kraho (Melatti 1978; Carneiro da Cunha 1978), Kanella, Krikati (Lave 1967), Gavião (Laraia and Da Matta 1979) and others—the Apinayé (Nimuendajú 1939; Da Matta 1976, in press), and the Northern Kayapo (Dreyfus 1963; Turner 1966; Vidal 1977). All these groups traditionally lived in large circular villages, consisting of a circle of residential houses evenly spaced around a large open plaza, which (in the case of the Suya and Northern Kayapo) had one or more men's houses erected in it. These villages are unusually large for lowland South America (reaching a population of up to 1500), far larger than those of the tropical forest neighbors of the Gê. One of the dilemmas is thus why and how such large villages were maintained when other groups in the lowland region fission at much smaller sizes (see Carneiro 1961; Gross, in press).

All of the Northern Gê have a form of a residence in which a man, when he has a child, goes to live with his wife in her house (uxorilocal residence). He thus moves into a house in which are living his wife's parents, her sisters and their families, and her unmarried brothers. A woman, therefore, does not change her residence but continues to live in the house she was born in. The residential houses on the periphery of the plaza are largely the domain of women, and men pass from one to another through marriage. There is no descent rule, however, and the Suya cannot be generally characterized as either matrilineal or patrilineal. The men have their own space in the center of the plaza, where the Suya and Northern Kayapo erect their men's houses. Most Northern Gê ceremonies are initiation ceremonies, which involve the removal of a child or young man from his natal household, his movement to the center of the plaza, and eventually to his wife's house after marriage. Far less ritualized are birth, sickness, and death. The uxorilocality of the Northern Gê is not simply a sociological principle but is also a central feature of their society as expressed in their music, ceremonies, myths, and other symbolic forms. What appears in these presentations of uxorilocality is not the static fact of residence with the wife's family, but the *process* of

movement out of the natal household to the plaza and eventually the wife's household.

All of the Northern Gê except the Kayapo have moieties (divisions into two groups). In fact, they all have multiple dual divisions. These multiple moiety systems have posed the most difficult problems for anthropologists. First because, unlike many dual forms of social organization, they do not regulate marriage; second because moiety membership is not determined by descent rules; third because there are multiple dual divisions. Marriage is regulated by other principles. Moiety membership is determined by a person's name, which he receives from any member of a broad category of kinsmen with the stipulation that brothers should be placed in alternate moieties according to birth order. In the multiple moieties, groups A and B are opposed to each other at one time, while half of A and half of B will be opposed to the other half of A and the other half of B at another time. One of the questions is thus, what do these moieties do? Why so many of them?

The Northern Gê also all have prolonged ceremonial periods and a fairly large repertory of ceremonies performed in different years. These ceremonies involve months of (intermittent) ceremonial activity. The elaboration of Northern Gê ceremony is related to the large village size and the multiplicity of moiety pairs. Some scholars have reasonably argued that the Gê villages can maintain their large size because of their ceremonies, and the necessity of a large number of people to perform them. Further, the multiple moiety systems create a variety of meaning-laden social ties which cut across purely kinship relationships. Northern Gê political factions are groups related by kinship ties and divided along lines of age and sex. But a faction cannot perform a ceremony—it will usually lack some of the important names whose holders play important roles. Ceremonial ties are activated for prolonged periods during the year, and thus make possible (indeed demand) a comparatively large village. Their multiplicity reduces the possibility that ceremonial ties will themselves be used as the basis for village fission. The long ceremonies are also all related to uxoriolocality: all are involved in the initiation of young men or women. Since the ceremonial life of the Gê is so intimately involved in the other features of their lives, understanding its significance is extremely important for deciphering the apparent Gê dilemmas.

The Suyá word for "ceremony" is "*ngere*," whose other referents are "song" and "music." Music making is thus central to Suyá ceremonies; the analysis of their music is similarly central to the understanding of these societies.

THE AKIA AND THE NGERE

Although reduced by warfare and disease to a population of about 130, the Suya live in a circular village and continue to perform a number of important ceremonies. A few of these I have seen several times. The major ceremonies all involve both *akia* and *ngere*, contrasting song genres. The Suya believe that *akia* singing is unique to them: they are the only Indian group they know that has *akia*, and they use it to differentiate themselves from other Indians. Two branches of the Suya tribe were separated for at least 200 years. The singing style of the *akia* is noticeably different, but all of the features I shall discuss are identical, as is the performance context. In contrast to the *akia*, the Suya say that all Indian groups have *ngere*.

Figure 1 presents some of the differences between *akia* and *ngere*. The best way to convey the differences is through listening to them. *Akia* have a characteristic melody contour, voice style, and structure, which vary somewhat according to the age of the singer. *Akia* are constantly being composed and sung. For every performance of a ceremony a man learns a new *akia*. Sometimes he will learn two or three in a single ceremony. He sings his *akia* alone or in loud conjunction with other men. Every adult man remembers many of his own earlier *akia*, as well as some of those of his relatives—his father, mother's brother, or father's brother—which he may sing on ceremonial occasions. *Akia* are individual songs. When men sing them they are listened for as individuals and want to be heard in spite of everyone else singing. Since they are often sung by a group of men, each singing a different *akia*, the musical constraints on "composers" (composition is described below) are considerable. It must be possible to hear them, yet every *akia* must be recognizably different from the others so that its singer can be distinguished from the other singers.

Example 1 gives a rough transcription of three *akia* in a 1976 ceremony. The transcription is primarily intended to indicate melody contour and rhythm. The first *akia* is sung by an older man, but he is singing the *akia* of a relative who sang it when he was young. It is sung in a high register with a forced voice, as is the second *akia*, sung by a younger man. The third example is the *akia* of a seven-year-old boy. All three singers are shaking their rattles, and moving their bodies, together. An idea of what *akia* sound like in performance may be obtained by imagining 30 fans from 30 different universities, each singing his own football fight song, at the same time, to a single tempo.

Why all this shouting? Why do the Suya consider it so important? Why is the *ngere* so different? These are questions that exhaustively

TRAIT	AKIA	NGERE
Sex of singer	Only men sing <u>akia</u> .	Women sometimes sing <u>ngere</u> as a group or with the men.
Number of singers	Sung by individuals, each singing his own song, even when several men sing at the same time	Sung by a group in unison.
Vocal style	Strained, tense, loud. Singers force voices to sing as high and loudly as possible.	Unison, low pitch, moderate volume. Singers try to blend voices.
Pitch	Each singer wants to sing as high in his vocal as possible. There is no fixed note on which he must begin, however. This varies according to his fatigue, the moment in the ceremony, and his age.	Singers try to sing as low in the vocal range as possible. Songs are often begun lower than some men can sing, then drift up in the first few strophes.
Tempo	Varies with movement of singers and point in the ceremony.	Relatively fixed, varying mostly between classes of <u>ngere</u> rather than within a single performance.
Melody contour	"Terraced" or descending contour is typical.	"Flat" countour is typical.
Location of performance	In the center of the village plaza; also outside the village.	Only in the village: in the plaza and in residential houses as well.

Figure 1. Contrast between *Akia* and *Ngere*.

descriptive presentations usually fail to consider. My speculations are presented as stimuli to further research and investigation.

The Suyu say that the singers want to be heard by the women. Women never sing *akia*; they are the audience. Specifically men say they want to be heard by their mother and sisters. They say that if a man sings well, his mother and sisters (a single referential kinship term exists that includes them both) will be happy. But if a man sings an old *akia*, or sings badly, they will be sad. When a lot of men sing *akia* together they all want to be heard. They must sing loudly and have distinctive songs to sing. The women, in fact, are listening carefully to the singing of the men. The

1. Robndo strident male voices. ♩=100

Si- mbre- chi ntu- ne daw na si te- e

2. Kogrere

A- ma- to ku- ra- da kI taw sarī, wa pa- ri wud-

8 3. young child

kI a- ma- to pe wa krud twa ia- rī

3 rattles shaken together

ia- rī sai- kwa ia daw na si- te- e

twu- ne kI taw ia- rī a- ma- to ku- ra- da kI

ne, wa krud- twa ia- rī- ne kI mu-

si- mbre- chi ntu- ne daw na si te ne

taw sa- rī wa pa- ri wudn- twu- ne a- ma- to ia-

8 ne te- te- te- te- te- te-

Example 1. Three Suya "Amto Akia" (Mouse Ceremony, 1976).

Example 1 (continued).

ia- rī sai- kwa ia daw na si- te- ne ne

rī ne, te-te- te- te- te- te- te, te- te.

te- ne, te- te- te- te, te-

te- te- te, te- te- te- te- te- te, te- te- te- te-

te- te- te- te, te- te- te- te- te, te-

te- e- te, te- te- te- te- te- te- te-

te- te- te- te- e- e.

te- te- te, te- te- te- te, te- te- te-

te- e.

te- e.

te- e.

Texts. 1. Honey bee goes to the entrance of the house, backs off, and enters. In the entrance it leaps, shakes its rattle and sings, backs off, and enters. Honey bee goes to the entrance of the house, backs off, and enters. In the entrance it leaps, shakes its rattle and sings, backs off, and enters. Te-te-te... 2. (see Fig. 3.) 3. Small mouse shakes its infant, shakes its infant, and I saw it. Te-te-te... (Note: children's akia are short and considered humorous.)

women comment a lot on the songs and can pick them out. They often memorize the most "interesting" songs (not always those of their brothers) by the end of the ceremony. The women's role as audience is important. They do not watch the whole ceremony but retire, at night, to their hammocks and listen to the singers marching and shouting around the plaza, stopping occasionally to sing *ngere*, until dawn. The men may sing their *akia* for as long as 15 hours on the final day of a ceremony. Body painting and ornamentation are important in ceremonies, but the greatest emphasis is placed on the aural effects: the sounds of men singing *akia* separately or *ngere* in unison in the dark of the night.

The performance context places a number of constraints on the *akia*. The desire of the singer to be heard as distinctive in a large body of singers will mean that certain *musical* features will be regularly present: high pitch, strained vocal quality, descending contour, and individualizing differences in rhythm, melody, and text. I would not say that the desire to be heard caused the *akia* form, but the performance context mitigates against experiments in form that cannot be heard, that do not involve strained vocal quality, and that are not noticeably different. Thus although the *akia* is a musical form, the constraints upon it are not purely musical and aesthetic, but are related to use in context.

Two central questions about *akia* performances are suggestive. One is why the Suya sing for their *sisters*? Why not sing for some other relative? The second is why they *sing* for their sisters, why not communicate with their sisters by hugging them, or sitting down and talking to them, or eating with them as we do at Thanksgiving or Christmas?

All Suya ceremonies emphasize the passage of a male from his natal household to the men's house and eventually to his wife's household. This is expressed spatially in a number of ceremonies that remove the boy from his parents' house (his mother's sleeping place) and take him to the plaza. All ceremonies emphasize the relationships between a man and his real and classificatory sisters and his mother over other kinds of ties, such as those with his wife and in-laws. During ceremonies he gives food to his sisters and receives food from them. He gives his name to his sister's son and his daughter is named by one of his sisters. Brothers and sisters are thus important relatives in ceremonies, and brothers understandably sing for their *sisters*. Why, then, do they *sing* for their sisters? What is special about making music within the specific features of Suya society and the *akia* genre?

The important clue is the spatial remove of a young man from his natal household—the uxorilocal process. After a young man is initiated into the men's house he should never return to his parents' house to sleep. He is ashamed to visit his natal household too much, and does not do so

when his sisters' husbands are around. A man would not eat with his sister because only conjugal families, lovers, or same-sex groups eat together. Nor would he put his arm around her because hugging is considered foreplay. But he can *sing* to his sister without even going to her house. He always sings *akia* in the plaza or outside the periphery of the village. Through his song a man can communicate with his sisters without regressing in the spatial remove established in the ceremony in which he is singing.²

This leads to a more general point. The ability of music to transcend social, spatial, and psychological distance without an accompanying physical presence may be one of its important communicative features. In our society, for example, love songs are sung more often by suitors than spouses. These songs may be a particularly appropriate way to traverse the spatial, social, and psychological distances characteristic of courting situations in Indo-European cultures. We would usually consider it inappropriate to sing love songs to our sisters, who are spatially and socially close to us. The Suya, whose courting is more physical than ours has traditionally been, do not sing love songs at all. But they do sing *akia* for their sisters who are socially and spatially distant. What they sing is not a proposal, however, but a song of individual self-affirmation.

When a Suya paints his body, his painting style is determined by his name. At the very least, all members of the group with the same name paint themselves alike. Usually, all members of a moiety paint themselves alike. A man's membership in ceremonial moieties, his position in a line of dancers, and the *ngere* he sings are also determined by his name. Name groups determine a man's entire ceremonial identity. But in *akia* a man sounds out by himself. During the long night of singing (as well as on other occasions) his song marks his participation, strength, feelings, and individual existence. The song he sings will usually be remembered after the ceremony, and particularly memorable ones will survive his death. Through his singing he can reveal his attitudes about himself as well. Two men of the same age may sing differently—one singing in the style of an older man (starting at a lower pitch and forcing his voice less) thus stressing his seniority, while the other sings in the style of a younger man by forcing his voice to the fullest, thus stressing his strength and youth. A boy may sing in the style of a young man, his *akia* fully structured with a long melody line, to show that he is no longer a child (children sing partial *akia* with short melody lines). A man may sing a lot, showing that he is "happy" or he may choose not to sing at all, or only for a short time. When the Suya hear each other singing *akia* they know not only about the general situation, but also how a particular man feels about something. Suya *akia* are one of the ways Suya men can say something publicly about themselves.

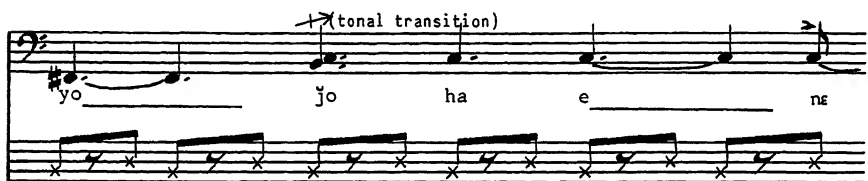
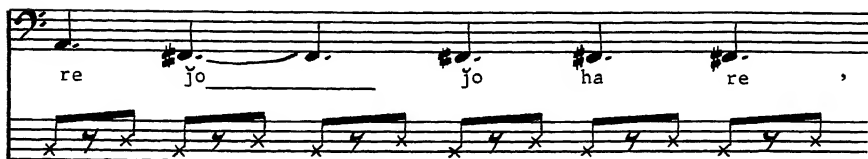
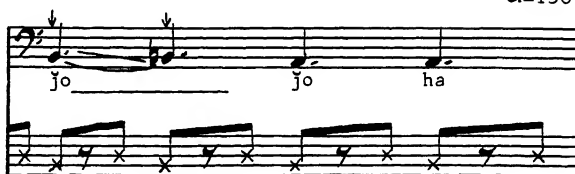
This raises a second general point. Our culture is speech-centered. Everyone is guaranteed the right to speak, but not everybody is expected to sing. Although important or powerful people have more access to "the media," supposedly everybody "has his day in court" while only good singers may leave the shower for the stage. This arrangement is not necessarily universal. Public and plaza speech among the Suya is restricted to politically powerful adult men (no "media" are needed in small circular villages). Young men seldom speak in the men's circle except in the absence of the older men. All Suya males (from about 8 years up), however, are expected to sing in public. In their song they can indicate some of the things that we might speak rather than sing. The speech emphasis of our own society is altered, if not reversed. As might be anticipated from my discoveries about the aesthetics of *akia* singing, the Suya express things in music that we do not. And partly because of this, music is very important for both performers and audience.

Akia singing, with its characteristic musical qualities and its opportunities for individual expression is considered "beautiful" by the Suya. Through repeated experience a man can listen to a "composer" sing a new *akia* under his breath only a single time and then stand up and sing it himself. Men learn their *akia* from specialists who have the ability to hear and understand the songs of certain animals, fish, bees, and trees, which they teach to whoever wants to learn; but the *akia* taught is always remembered by the name of the person who *sang* it, not who taught it. It becomes the "property" of the person who first sings it. When the Suya listened to tapes of *akia* as well as to *akia* being sung, they always remarked on the singer and identified him by his song.

The *ngere* contrast with the *akia* in musical style, in what they say musically, and in what the Suya listen for. Most *ngere* are unison songs in which men try to blend their voices. Voices that cannot blend are excluded: children do not usually join in and old men do a special shout. All *ngere* are identified with a ceremonial group, not with individuals. Part of an *ngere* is transcribed in Example 2.

The individuality of the singers of a *ngere* is not important—indeed it is suppressed—but who a man sings with is very important. *Ngere* are sung by specific ceremonial groups, never by kinship-based groups. These may consist of all adult men in the village, or a single moiety, or part of a moiety. In the case of a log race, for example, two moieties face each other across the track of the relay race and each sings. One moiety sings the first half of the song while the other sings the second half. After they sing they run the logs into the village. When they sing, the groups are clearly established. As the *akia* are the "property" of individuals, so *ngere* are the "property" of ceremonial groups. The *ngere* of a group

♩=130

Male chorus
(4 singers)1 rattle
upbeat
downbeat

Example 2. "Agachi Ngere," excerpt. Transcribed by Marina Roseman.

usually have some features in common. Thus one moiety supposedly sings its songs more rapidly than the other. They also sing about different animals. The Suyu have two pairs of moieties and a number of other name-based ceremonial groups. All of these have their own songs. The people who sing together may be political opponents, brothers-in-law who

never speak to each other, or the best of friends. The way they feel about each other has nothing to do with the way they sing except in extreme cases where, because he is angry, a man may refuse to sing at all. That in itself is a strong statement. Factional disputes occasionally come to a head in ceremonies because suddenly what had been covered up comes out into the open (literally: into the plaza).

Ngere are rarely sung outside the village. They are most often sung in the men's house and in the residential houses on the periphery of the plaza. When the men sing in the residential houses they usually sing the same song in each of the houses. In this case a man does enter his sisters' and mother's house as well as other houses he may never enter on normal occasions. But he enters as an equal member of a sex-and age-defined group, not as a brother, lover, or individual. This point is important because of the correlated musical differences. When a man sings as an individual for the audience of women he sings differently from the rest of the men and does not enter the residential houses. But when he does enter the houses he blends his voice so as to be indistinguishable.³

The most striking example of this is in those ceremonies where men sing *akia* alternately with *ngere* during the final night. After singing *akia* for several hours in the plaza the men regroup and go marching into each house. As they march in they sing their *akia*. At the end of his strophe each man falls silent until only the unison shaking of the rattles can be heard. Then they sing the *ngere*. As soon as the *ngere* is over each starts up on his own *akia* again and they all rush toward the door and charge out (although apparently a mad rush, they actually leave according to ceremonial group ordering). *Akia* are individual songs suitable for the plaza and the outskirts of the village; *ngere* are group songs suitable for the plaza and the houses.

Like *akia*, many *ngere* are learned from mammals, fish, birds, bees, and plants, and taught to the men of the village by living men. Other *ngere* are "old" and were taught in the mythical past by some animal or enemy indian. A ceremonial period usually involves learning a new *ngere* (in the 1978 log-racing season three new *ngere* were introduced). *Ngere*, however, are remembered for longer than *akia*. They are dated by which men were in the men's house (or being initiated into it) in the ceremonial season they were introduced, and the person who taught them is usually remembered. (The compositional process is still not given much weight, however, because it is an animal, plant, or bee that sings the song; the composer is merely a mediator who learns the song and then teaches it to the rest of the men).

Ngere and *akia* have similar overall structures. Both are strophic, both are divided into first and second halves, and both have the same set

way of presenting the text in each half, which forms a number of named parts of the songs. Figure 2 diagrams these basic divisions. Although the *akia* and *ngere* differ in the specific way these parts are given expression, the structure is equally clear in both and the parts have the same names. The "really without substance" (1.a) consists entirely of "songwords" or syllables that the Suya say have no meaning. The "approaching the naming" (1.b) has meaningful words but not the complete song text. Typically it will state an action but will not name the animal or plant that performs the action. It literally does not "tell the name." In the "telling the name" (2) the animal is important, and songs are often identified by the animal named in them (there is apparently no vocabulary for musical features such as syncopation or melodic figures although these are obviously important in remembering the song itself). After singing the "telling the name" or complete strophe for a time, the coda is sung (3). The nature of the coda is different in *akia* and *ngere*, and it varies for different types of

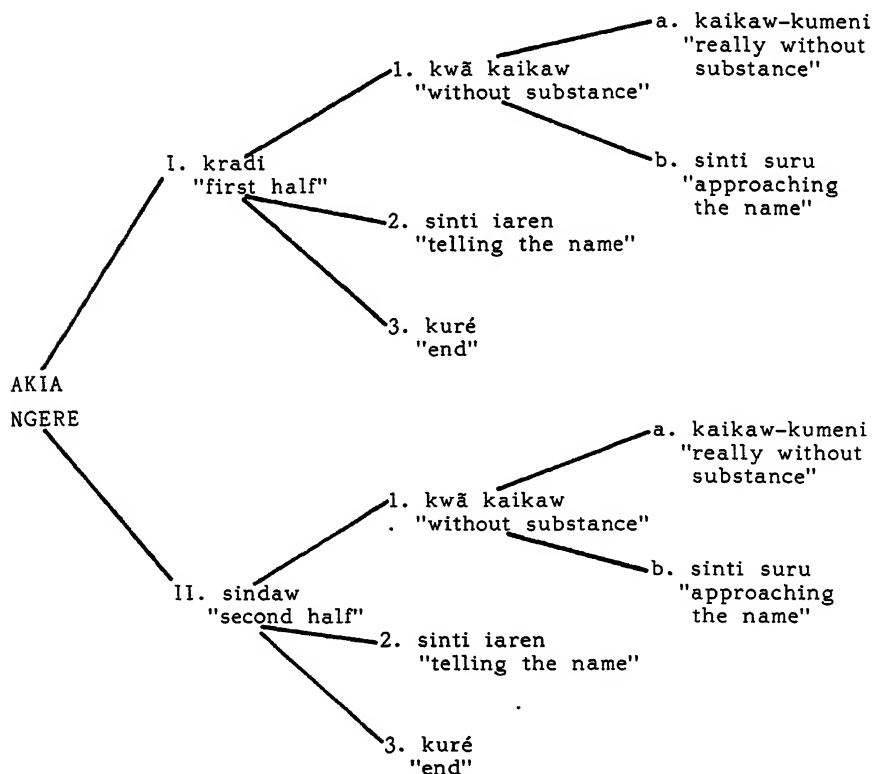


Figure 2. Structure of Akia and Ngere.

Part of Structure	Text and Translation
I.1.a.	te-te-te-te... (one "te" per note of entire strophe.) ("Te" has no translation according to the Suya. It is literally a meaningless song syllable.)
I.1.b.	Wa pari wudntwa-ne kI taw iarĩ (4 times) I horns rising & falling to be I leap te-te-te-te... (one "te" per note of 2nd part of strophe.) (With the point of my dance mask rising and falling I leap, shake my rattle, and sing.)
I.2.	Amato kuradata taw sarĩ wa pari wudntwa-ne type of rodent it leaps I horns rising & falling kI taw iarĩ to be I leap te-te-te-te... (one "te" per note of 2nd part of strophe.) ([rodent species] leaps; with the point of my dance mask rising & falling I leap, shake my rattle, and sing.)
I.3	te-te-te-te... (repeat 2nd part of last strophe of I.2.)
II.1.a.	te-te-te-te... (one "te" per note of entire strophe.)
II.1.b.	Imoi po keingoro wa taw iarĩ (3 times) my dance mask striped I leap (In my striped dance mask I leap, shake my rattle, and sing.) Imoi po keingoro Amato iarĩ-ne my dance mask striped Mouse ceremony I leap (In my striped dance mask I leap, shake my rattle, and sing the ceremony [or song] of the mouse.) te-te-te-te... (one "te" per note of 2nd part of strophe.)
II.2.	Támana kukeni-da taw-sarĩ Imoi po keingoro this agouti leaps my d.m. striped wa taw iarĩ I leap Támana kukeni-da taw-sarĩ Imoi po keingoro this agouti leaps my d.m. striped amto iarĩ-ne mouse I leap (The agouti leaps; in my striped dance mask I leap, shake my rattle, and sing. The agouti leaps; in my striped mask I leap, shake my rattle, and sing the ceremony [or song] of the mouse.)
II.3.	te-te-te-te... (repeat 2nd part of last strophe of II.2.)

Figure 3. Akia text, showing the sections of Suya song structure. (Kogrerere's "Amto Akia," Example 1, Line 2.)

ngere. But in all cases there is a musical closure. After the coda, the "second half" (II) is begun, starting with 1.a. When the second half is ended, the song occasion is over or a different song is sung.

This structure is clear to the Suya (although it took me some time to discover it) and should put an end to statements to the effect that Indian music has little structure and no closure. There is in fact considerable structure, only the grossest of which I have treated here.⁴

The dualism of Suya cosmology and ceremonial organization is clearly present in the structure of the *akia* and *ngere*. The songs are divided into halves (*kradi* and *sindaw*) whose names are significant. The Suya have two principal directions: east (*kaikwa kradi*) and west (*kaikwa (s)sindaw*). The plaza may have two men's houses, one located in the east, the other in the west (or a single one with two distinct halves). These are associated with the moieties. The moiety in the eastern men's house carries the lower part of the burying palm trunk in log races (*kradi*) while the western moiety carries the upper part (*sindaw*). At certain moments the men sing the first part of their *akia* (*kradi*) in front of the eastern men's house (or eastern side of the single men's house) (*kaikwa kradi*) following which they sing the second part (*sindaw*) in front of the western men's house (*kaikwa (s)sindaw*). The nomenclature of songs and certain features of their performance is thus congruent with a number of the other dual organization features of Suya society.

Now it is possible to discuss some of the things occurring in *ngere* singing. Perhaps the most important is that groups are singing, and the singers are attempting to make their voices sound as one. The groups are ceremonial—not kinship-based. They are precisely those groups that puzzle anthropologists because they are multiple and do not regulate marriage, or subsistence activities. One thing the moieties do is sing together as groups in complementary opposition. Thus at the log racing track the two moieties sing the same song, but different parts of it; when there are two men's houses the moieties will sing different songs: one slowly, the other rapidly. Their existence is manifested largely through music. The care with which *ngere* are performed in unison is the musical expression of, and creation of, a group. And the group makes "beautiful" music, as the Suya agree when they listen to recordings of themselves in which everything works out as it should.

The *akia* and the *ngere* are quite different in their musical features and in what is expressed through them. How does Suya music compare with that of the other Northern Gê? Do they all sing for their sisters? Is there anything like the *akia* among those Northern Gê groups the Suya have never encountered? In fact, it would appear from some comments by Melatti (1978) that the Kraho sing for their wives. This is congruent

with a different emphasis in Kraho rituals: the emphasized relationship is not between a man and his sisters so much as between a man and his actual and potential spouses. Under these conditions we might expect different intentions and possibly different principles operating on the musical forms. But the real difficulty is that this is all speculation. The music of the Kraho, one of the best studied Gê societies to date, has never been analyzed. Collections should be made and analyses begun. This is not only because we will lose the chance of recording a people's music if we wait too long, but also because the members of these societies, before they have been overwhelmed by contact, believe their music to be important. The Suya wanted me to record their music, not just so they could later listen to it, but because they consider it beautiful and important. My interest in their music was fully understandable to them (unlike my interest in some other domains), and I believe they are right about the value of their music. The analysis of the music of lowland South American societies will give us important insights into these societies. But the job will be slow. As I have indicated, "collection" must be a prolonged interpretative process. Obtaining music in its social context means waiting for it to be performed rather than collecting recordings from individuals on short collecting trips. The patience can be well rewarded: good collections will reveal the full richness of what music is to the people who perform it.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

I have argued that to study Suya music, and by extension other kinds of music, analysis of the total musical event and the way music is inserted into the larger social and cosmological framework is necessary. This done, one can speculate on what is special about music itself, as opposed to other kinds of art or philosophy, in a given society. I have analyzed two genres of Suya music and related the singing style of the *akia* to the intention of the singer to be heard as an individual by certain female relatives, the structure of the *akia* to the overall dualism permeating Suya life, and other features to specific aspects of the performance context. The *ngere* is a way of expressing the existence and unity of name-based ceremonial groups, groups that may do little more than sing together. I have suggested that an important communicative feature of music is its ability to traverse social, psychological, and spatial distances and that the linguistic emphasis of our own society may not be universal.

In conclusion I want to make a point central to my understanding of ethnomusicology and the lowland South American Indian societies. I have not argued that the social organization of the Suya is prior to the

musical structure of their performances. I am not saying that the dualism of the music is a simple reflection of the dualism of their society, or that men have sisters and because of that sing to them. The simple reduction of one domain to another is always a dangerous exercise and in this case quite wrong. I would argue that it is musical events that create the dualism of Suyá social organization. Suyá moieties are purely ceremonial. They are partly defined through the *ngere* they sing together. The structure of the music, far from being a reflex, is part of the creation and continual recreation of the dual features of Suyá society. Thus the dual structure of music is fundamental, not reflexive. What is expressed by singing is crucial, not incidental. And the very importance of music in Suyá society—in the talk of its members and the amount of time and resources devoted to musical activities—may lie in the active role music plays in the creation and life of society itself: its musical creation and musical living.

This may sound excessively idealist for colleagues working in other areas with other societies. But it has some parallels with the situation in the analysis of the kinship domain of these societies (Seeger 1975; Da Matta, Seeger, & Viveiros de Castro 1979). Our reluctance to accept the importance of musical events in these societies stems from a fundamental misconception of the nature of these events.

Our assumption that music is an “art,” a primarily aesthetic and therefore incidental activity, has led us astray with respect to Lowland South American music. To these societies music is a fundamental part of social life, not merely one of its options. This observation is supported by the universal participation in extended musical occasions. The very social, rather than aesthetic, emphasis of the music of these groups has prevented ethnomusicologists from giving these musical systems the attention they deserve; the musical emphasis of social life has similarly received insufficient attention from anthropologists. Close attention is called for. We should begin asking what it is about music making that is so important in all of these societies. Perhaps by listening for the answers we will come to a better understanding of what both society and music can be.

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NOTES

1. An ethnography of the performance of the *akia* has been written and submitted for publication (Seeger, ms.) and a larger work on Suya musical performance is in progress.

2. There is one exception to the rule that a man does not sing *akia* in his sister's house. That is when he decides to sing *akia* all day long during a ceremonial period. Then he sits on his sister's bed and is painted and ornamented by his female relatives while he sings. When the ornamentation is complete, he leaves and sings in the plaza. Rather than disproving the rule, this process repeats the establishment of the spatial remove in his initiation ceremony.

3. There are occasional solos in Suya *ngere*, but the soloists are selected because they hold a certain name, not because they volunteer; there is usually only one soloist of the appropriate age and ability in each name group. In another form of *ngere* each man sings the strophe solo, but this type of song is sung only in the center of the plaza.

4. Marina Roseman, in a careful analysis of a single *ngere*, has made a number of interesting observations, which are being examined in the field (Roseman, ms.).

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"PULLING THE ANCESTORS": PERFORMANCE PRACTICE AND PRAXIS IN MAPUCHE ORDERING

Carol E. Robertson

The observations, descriptions, and analyses exposed herein address Mapuche philosophies of time, thought, growth, and transformation. In a broader and equally ambitious sense, my concerns embrace questions of performance practice, the cognitive ramifications of musical communication, and the abstractions of one ethnomusicologist juxtaposed to the abstractions of several hundred Mapuche (a people of Andean Argentina).¹ Various kinds of data are presented on multiple levels of description and interpretation. Such a strategy is motivated by four considerations: the importance of making our professional biases clear and our analytic interpretations accessible to future critics of method; the need to illumine those stages of "discovery" through which at least this ethnomusicologist milked some sense out of confusion; the hope that interested colleagues may discover in the data relationships that I cannot yet grasp; and an urgency for descriptions from which scholars may design controlled, qualitative, cross-cultural comparisons.

In both a personal and professional mode of introspection, I am intrigued by questions of *why* human groups and the individuals comprising those groups decide to do one thing over another, *what* makes people "change their minds," and *how* we rationalize inconsistencies in our thinking and behavior. Some of the implications of this study address matters of choice, even in the recognition that each researcher makes methodological decisions and that each Mapuche assigns more relevance to some aspects of daily life than to others. The examination of a specific vocal genre called *tayil* from the perspective of (my isolation and interpretation of) Mapuche tenets of time, thought, growth, and transformation can provide a partial answer to the ways and reasons choices are made within *tayil* performance. I will discuss aspects of performance as parts of a process through which social relevances may be determined.

This study is also about things specifically "musical." But it is about things-musical as constituents of a particular type of order—an Order believed to illuminate, permeate, dictate, and mediate disjunction in other spheres of social action. "Pulling the ancestors" (*entún kuifi*) is a metaphor that refers to the act of performing *tayil*, the "material" or explicit

manifestation of the patrilineally inherited and shared soul. Performances of *tayil* also "pull" on the Law, the formulation of order termed *nortunú* and attributed to actors in past time. Through a delineation of Mapuche concepts of thought, time, and speech we can begin to explain why things-musical are deemed more relevant and appropriate to a material expostulation of shared souls (*kimpeñ*) than are other elements in the lived world.

This presentation of those processes that facilitate choice and of those choices that influence transformation is grounded in several premises. First, a recognition of the discrepancies between the "ideal" and the "real," as well as between practice and praxis. The "ideal" reflects the "ought to be" factor in abstractions or illusions of unspoiled order; the "real" reflects the "is" through pragmatic manipulations that adapt laws and ideals to a changing sense of order. In addressing practice we are describing the observable world. In analyzing praxis we are apprehending the experiential world of the performer.

Secondly and consequently, I suggest that "ethnographic presents," or the transilient segments of field research in which we engage, consist of culturally sanctioned yet individually manipulable reinterpretations of the past, which inform the interpretation of current events. Thirdly, music should be understood as both a social act and the context of other actions that arise from preconceived, cognitively-based projects. Social actions, in the sense of goal-directed actions, intertwine task definition, memory, expectations, and communicative events. Each communicative event provides new or recast experiential information, which in turn alters the sensory or memory storage system and subsequent recall.

The coils of cognition simplified above are also operative in the slow and often painful way in which researchers acquire cultural knowledge during and after periods of fieldwork. The field data presented below are drawn from research conducted in 1971, 1972, and 1978 in the Mapuche area of southwestern Argentina. During my third visit to the province of Neuquén I was struck by the rigidity and short-sightedness of some of my earlier conclusions. Having been afforded the opportunity to observe the fluidity of Mapuche life from a time-worn perspective, I have revised earlier analytic postures to embrace some of the ways in which the Mapuche deal with, facilitate, manipulate, and explain alterations in their social and natural environment.

By making me aware of their responses to themselves, the Mapuche have taught me that in our "scientific" search for absolute answers we often forsake flexibility for labels, precision for questionable generalizations, and facts for the fancy of "theoretical" postures. Perhaps only through the internalization of personal flux can we grasp the extent to which and the intent with which the Mapuche constantly question and re-evaluate their own assumptions, rules, and changing options.

In the last six years, Mapuche communities have exercised and tempered their options through a shift in economic emphasis from farming to wool trading. Many individuals have sought employment in the provincial capital or on neighboring Italian, Swiss, and French ranches. Ritual participation has decreased in proportion to the dwindling number of male and female elders who continue to encourage their wards in the observation of annual increase ceremonies. Floods have destroyed many dwellings and have forced some families to build temporary shelters in and on protected canyons and mountainsides. *Canutos*, or new converts to a Chilean-based Pentecostal movement, have wrought threatening and often violent civil strife in two highland settlements. Recent federal and provincial edicts have denied chiefs the traditional prerogative of appointing administrative and protocol assistants, thus shifting almost all political and economic decisions to the ruling reservation lineage. Chiefs and their subjects are not pleased by the "notice" they have received from the "permanent" military government. They regard their present economic and political plight as another symptom of *kimeweleichupántü*, or unauthorized human tampering with the Order dictated by the ancestors.

Strategies for survival bring the Mapuche into contact with many shifting worlds: the world of the rural schoolteacher who is confused, frightened, and occasionally enriched by reservation life; the priest who assumes the responsibility of saving, educating, politicizing, or otherwise "salvaging the moral values" of his spiritual wards; the merchant who brings commodities from large cities and sells or trades for a precious sum; the ethnographer who bleeds meaning out of stones, harbors interest in the most mundane and most elusive social transactions, and attempts explanations of a life style that she can then comfortably walk away from. Many Mapuche believe that the more abstract and inaccessible forces in the world-at-large are the most instrumental in the conduct of daily life. Paramount among these "major" forces are the encroachment of government officials and ranchers on traditional homesteads, the 40-year cycles of agricultural productivity and drought, and the lines of kin continuity linked to the ancestors through *tayil* performances.

Part of the engineering of survival of the Mapuche nation and of the self-perception of individuals in that nation relies heavily on the act of "pulling the ancestors"—the act of fusing living and deceased members of a patrilineage in the performance of *tayil*-specific melodic contours and syllabic utterances. In most instances style, performance techniques, and contextual referents have exhibited more similarities than dissimilarities during the last six years. The transformations of greatest significance have been rooted in the Mapuche conceptualization of "order" and in my grasp of that order. Again I must stress that any tradition one might study

at any time is in transition—that an individual's most humanizing characteristic is the prerogative to change one's mind; that cultural consensus will always be *imperfect* cultural consensus; and that this very imperfection grants us freedom of choice.

To apprehend and comprehend how the Mapuche perceive the past and the present and the plethora of choices therein, we must concomitantly grasp how they perceive the future. Considered in our terms, they don't. The Mapuche language labels only present and past time. *Alüaluntu* and *kuifi* refer to the time of the ancestors. *Alün* designates the present, or time since the ancestors, and embraces the individual and the four immediately preceding generations. When referring to "now" as a personal and operationalized field of action, *alün* is replaced with the term *fachichipantü*, which translates as "done here-here, in this place under the sun." A derivative metaphor, *fachiwechipantümán*,² is used to indicate things that have not yet happened (what we might call the future), but nonetheless *exist* within the present; it means "being done here in the sky, here under the sun." Two principles are essential to our present understanding of Mapuche ordering: 1) all things that "have not yet happened" already exist as options within the present; 2) these things or options have not yet been actualized, because they have not yet crystallized as *visualizations*.

The latter concept was explained to me in a most unexpected context. As a bilingual, I have often been asked if I "think" in Spanish or in English. My answers have unfortunately had more to do with the projection of a self-image than with a critical evaluation of the question. In a public situation I asked several adult bilingual Mapuche which language they employ in their thinking. They were amused by the question. Individually and jointly, they emphasized that people do not think in "language-words" (*palabras de la idioma* or *palabras de lengua*); they think in "picture-words" (*palabras de videncia*), or visual impressions. Before one thinks of or remembers and then utters words, one is impressed by an idea (described by the Mapuche as visual), which will generate single words, the subject-object relationships of agglutination, or groups of words ordered into sentences. The form of the particular thought-image presents the rules and options from which subsequent utterances will be structured.

I tested this concept against (sung) performances of *tayil*. The pertinent and most common imagery prefacing 40 *tayil* performances included upwards and downwards body displacement; lines that rose, twisted, and fell; heat; intense light; sense of silence or emptiness; and soaring. These senses or elements of a "state of consciousness" were followed in 80% of these 40 performances by visual associations with the animal or natural

object alluded to in the symbolic text of each *tayil*. Some women, who are the sole and rightful performers of *tayil*, see or occasionally hear a frog, river, bird, sheep, volcano, and so forth. Of course, the Mapuche supposedly possess no formal notations for sound. For this reason alone, the described sense of rising, winding, and falling lines or paths should be of particular interest. Women who were able to illustrate the road or line they had seen while preparing themselves for performance coincided in their "stick-on-ground" sketches with my "pen-on-staff" representations of *tayil* melodic contours.

I did not match the lines of "picture words" with my melodic contour notations until several months after these field experiments were initiated. The significance of a culturally recognized relationship between thought and visualization struck me with even greater force in reading a statement by Nabokov (in Fernandez 1973:45):

Does one think in language? One thinks rather in images. It is Joyce's error—a rush of words, without punctuation, that attempts to express the interior language. But people don't think like that.

"Picture words" or thought images, at least for the Mapuche, seem to generate expectations through associations. That is, each image or image-composite brings to mind ways of projecting the visual sense onto the tangible product of the thought process. This cognitive activity also speaks to the aesthetic expectations projected on and by *tayil* performers.

The Mapuche believe that what we call social actions—or public, task-oriented behaviors, including the sub-category of social utterances—are vehicles for the "acting out" or "sounding out" of thought imagery. Special attention must be given to the continuum implied between thinking and acting. Not all thoughts require action as an immediate end result. However, many Mapuche contend that all "serious" thoughts will eventually affect behavior. During one of the seminar discussions I conducted among residents of the Zaina Yegua community, participants reached a consensus on my own fieldsite behavior: though I was not fully aware of all the cause and effect variables in our interactions, the knowledge I was acquiring was altering my actions in ways that could be documented by "outsiders" (in this case, the Mapuche).³ Moreover, though my jumbled thoughts regarding Mapuche life had not yet fully crystallized as visualizations and had not yet been "acted out" with specific tasks in mind, the thought/vision/action cycle was clear to my Mapuche critics. They forecast that when I gained the ability to code my thoughts into visualizations, I would be able to communicate those thoughts to my colleagues through the social acts of speaking and writing. My readers would in turn have to

A) KEUPU

"KEU" --

B) KURÁ

"YO - LE" --

C) UFISHA

"WE" --

The figure displays three musical examples, each consisting of two staves. The notation is a simplified form of musical notation, likely representing pitch contours. The first example, A) KEUPU, has the lyric "KEU" --. The second example, B) KURÁ, has the lyric "YO - LE" --. The third example, C) UFISHA, has the lyric "WE" --. The notation includes notes, rests, and various melodic lines (straight, wavy, zigzag) indicating pitch contours. The notation is in a simplified, non-standard musical notation style.

Figure 1. Contours of three *tayil*.

translate my selected social action into their own modes of thinking; ultimately, readers would have to visualize a "sense" of the information I had imparted from a visual source (writing) foreign to the life style I had struggled to portray.

Within my interpretation of Mapuche behavior and the Mapuche interpretation of ethnomusicological behavior, effective communication is predicated on an ability to a) visualize ideas with clarity and b) translate those visualizations into some form of public or culturally accessible action. Such a stance extends transformations from thought to action into the realm of choice. Choice is at the core of individual and social transactions. Choice molds and adapts to transformation in an unending and reflexive spiral of cause and effect. Choice involves the evaluation of and selection from a fluid repertoire of options. The notion of a fluid "repertoire of options" suggests that our predecessors have espoused and tested various sets of ideologies, actions, and explanations in the crucible of experience. We have no reason to expect that these frameworks should *not* offer inner as well as progenitive contradictions. The Mapuche themselves tell us that "people were made to think deeply, but not perfectly."

Just as my choice of words affects your interpretation of these data, a choice of levels of discourse or levels of "wording" in Mapuche affects the nature and interpretation of oral communication. The Mapuche discuss thought images and their end results as speech on varying planes of abstraction. *Dungu* signifies "word," and is the root of several derivative terms that label kinds of speech or levels of discourse. Among these is *dungún*, which describes the act of conversing or of engaging in dialogue. *Dunguwenpín* labels the kind of debate common to elders; it is also the title ascribed to men who excel in oratory and serve as spokesmen for chiefs. *Dungulún* is internal or introspective speech. *Dungunpewún* takes the form of prayers or supplications to the pantheon of cosmological and ancestral time. *Dungu*, the noun for "word," can also refer to the specific occasion of an act or event. For example, the actual speech patterns that occur in rogations known as *lukutún* may be called *lukutún dungu* (cf. Robertson-DeCarbo 1977:70). The texts of *tayil* could be termed *tayil dungu*, but are most commonly called *kimpeñ*. *Kimpeñ* is also the term for patrilineage, for ancestry, and for the patrilineally shared soul. *Tayil* texts (or *kimpeñ*) and *tayil* intonations (always called *tayil*) are believed to belong to two levels of discourse: *dungulún*, or internal/introspective speech, and *dungunpewún*, implorations or entreaties.

Thus, many terms exist to describe levels of "wording"; but the term for and nature of *thinking* belong to none of the speech modes. Thinking precedes all speech modes in chronology and in hierarchy. Thinking is called *rakiduamyén*, a synonym of "seeing from afar." An example of the

usage of this term is proffered by the remark with which Ignacia Epullán prefaced one of her renditions of *tayil*: "*Eimí rakiduamyén lonkotún ... chumechipián?*"—"I am thinking it (seeing it from afar) in my head ... how am I going to make it come out?"

The principle of visual thought sources can be contextualized further through an examination of Mapuche perceptions of change. Five operative distinctions exist. *Mozawán* means to change outwardly, as when one changes in attire or physique. *Rakiduán* means a change by decree usually imposed by political or ritual decision-makers. The same term is appropriately descriptive of those situations in which the rules of a race or of a children's game have been modified. Notice that *rakiduán* carries the same root as does *rakiduamyén*, or "thinking." This core persists in the third category of change, *werakiduán*, which indicates a new idea, an improvisation, or a vision. A "new idea" should not be equated in this context with the scholarly fantasy of producing notions or solutions by virgin birth, without a traceable link to the history of academic thought. The Mapuche, who admire an ability to engage in *werakiduán*, would define the concept of innovative thinking or "inventiveness" as a systemic outgrowth of *fachiwechipantümán*, the "present-to-be." An analogous approach to innovative thought is evident in the words of Lord Rothschild (1973:4-5):

The thoughtful, original or inventive man is not the man who solves a complex problem elegantly and fast: but rather the person who changes the terms in which a problem is discussed in such a way that new lines of argument, connecting hitherto unrelated notions, are opened up.

This perspective on innovation is significant to an understanding of *wezuñú*, the fourth category of change. The term *wezuñú* labels the end of a gestation period in which rules are changed (*rakiduán*) or strategies of thinking are altered to produce new ideas (*werakiduán*), which can in turn be put into action (*wezuñú*). In another mode of abstraction, one could surmise that *rakiduán* are alterations in cognitive ordering, which can result in *werakiduán*, or alterations in cognitive style (perception), which can ultimately produce *wezuñú*, or behavioral changes.

However, most Mapuche are reticent to point the arrow of causality in any single direction. Andrés Segundo Epullán has suggested that:

Sometimes it is necessary to make *wezuñú*, to change our way of doing things, in order to keep life manageable. If we act in very, very different ways, we may produce *werakiduán*, or new ideas in others. It can work the other way, too. Sometimes we change our thinking to explain what we are doing. You yourself can think/see that this is especially important in how we do *tayil*. (Zaina Yegua, June 1978.)⁴

Thus, the most significant types of change occur in and affect conceptualization and action. At this point I prefer to set aside the chicken-

and-egg paradox in order to stress that Mapuche ideology and world views characterize thinking as a processual phenomenon: the Mapuche word for thought processes is *chemprali*, which also labels a fifth and conceptually distinct type of change—growth. Growing in this sense involves a series of discriminative and goal-oriented decisions, both voluntary and imposed, dramatized against a panoply of options. This emically derived abstraction can be further articulated by postulating that experience in individual and collective domains is coded in long-term memory and is subsequently tapped through picture-word associations. Picture-words, or sense-images, are then linked to those selected verbal utterances or behaviors that best communicate the essence of the initial thought frame. This unfolding helix of cognition is also reflexive; for each "communicative event" feeds back into the resources of memory and future recall, thus altering entire strata of the storage system and translating gestation into germination.

The Mapuche equate thinking and growing with motion. Motion (*tunprali*) is a topic of discussion even among those Mapuche speakers who do not ordinarily extemporize about *how* they think. Most Mapuche claim that many seed ideas or images are virtually impossible to abstract into vernacular levels of discourse. During my last visit to Neuquén, several research collaborators stressed that *tayil* is first and foremost *un sentido especial de las cosas*, "a special sense of things." This quality of affective meaning in *tayil* was explained by Francisco Ancatruz, chief of Zaina Yegua, in 1972:

If you want us to tell you directly and definitively what *tayil* is, you will be kept waiting. Not even the women can give the answer. The real meaning can be said neither in Mapuche nor in Spanish. We can say that *ruka* is the place where a person dwells; *ñiyipún* is when the yearly rogation is said, where animals are dedicated, and the ways of the ancestors are portrayed ... Thus, some things can be stated, because we have a way of signifying them.

It is also known that *tayil* means something, but the answer comes out slowly. This must be because the answer has another kind of meaning. . .

We see/think about *tayil* from a place so deep and distant (seen from afar) that it can only come out in the way you have it on that machine. That is why some women find it difficult to *rakidúan* (see/think about) *tayil* and pull it out in the right way . . . and that is why so many young folks can't hear it: they can't feel it where it begins in the stomach.⁵ (Zaina Yegua, April 1972.)

Many Mapuche have paraphrased this statement by refining the notion that the sense/idea/imagery of *tayil* is not appropriate to vernacular speech or even to specific behavioral acts. The imagery and associations of this phenomenon are far too complex for "ordinary" articulation. At the crux of this complexity lies the equally involuted array of classification systems and frames of reality that *tayil* performances elicit.

In reference to such cognitive complexity, Alfred Schutz has written (1970:232):

All these worlds—the world of dreams, of imageries and phantasms, especially the world of art, the world of religious experience, the world of scientific contemplation, the play world of the child, and the world of the insane—are finite provinces of meaning. This means that (a) all of them have a particular cognitive style . . . ; (b) all experiences within each of these worlds are, with respect to this cognitive style, consistent in themselves and compatible with one another (although not compatible with the meaning of everyday life); (c) each of these finite provinces of meaning may receive a specific accent or reality. . .

To the cognitive style peculiar to each of these different provinces of meaning belongs, thus, a specific tension of consciousness and, consequently, also a specific *epoché*, a prevalent form of spontaneity, a specific form of self experience, a specific form of sociality, and a specific time perspective.

Though portions of human experience may be compartmentalized into provinces of meaning, the character of these domains is not really “finite” in time and space. Differences in the bounding and structuring of meaning may occur as actors redefine relevances within their fields of interest and action. I have slowly come to realize a very simple fact: when my informants separate portions of information and experience into what I might call “provinces of meaning,” they are motivated more by a desire to make their thoughts and actions accessible to me than by a conviction that life experiences are empirically separable into neat, coherent, and logical slices of order. In practice, which is to say, in *experience* of the cognitive complexity of the self and of others, the Mapuche allude to the art of survival in one of the proverbial closing formulas of oratory: “Questions are plowed in fertile straight furrows; answers must be beaten from crags and crevices, hardened river beds, thorns and twigs, ashes and splinters. Even though many toil to keep the furrows straight, the crops will grow where they please. If a man follows only the line of his furrows he will surely starve.”

In *tayil* performance, the frames of reference and sources for answers—both for performers and observer—may fluctuate from one context to another. Some types of social actions may elicit confusion or contradiction in the actor, who must reconcile flights of imagery with the constraints of social rules, official edicts, individual interests, power quests, idiosyncracies, and fruitful communication. These precariously balanced variables are thrust against commonly shared (yet sometimes nebulously defined) paradigms of time, space, thought, and motion. As some of the finer or more remote points of Mapuche ideology are set aside, forgotten, or guarded from the public by local specialists, *tayil* gains significance as a “shorthand” rendition of philosophical tenets, which cannot be articulated by all Mapuche speakers, but which can be witnessed and internalized by all participants in the act of “pulling the ancestors.” Although not all Mapuche can or even care to expound on the meaning imbedded in *tayil*, interpreters of this phenomenon affirm that

their performances shuttle them back and forth from one kind of reality or space/time frame to another.

Tayil is, in fact, an ideological category that allows performers to concomitantly traduce and adjust the boundaries of many other "categories of meaning." The specific ritual context of a performance may focus experience from many domains of everyday life into the performance event, and may thus transform elements of experience from one province of meaning to another. This very property of transcendence and transformation gives *tayil* a singular cognitive style and identifiable form as a social act.

The studies spawned by Durkheim and Mauss's *Primitive Classification* (1963) have attempted to show internal, consistent relationships between social groupings and cosmology. This genre of structural analysis has sought to reveal, in Rodney Needham's words, "a mode of classification by which things, individuals, groups, qualities, values, spatial notions, and other ideas of the most disparate kinds are identically ordered within one system of relations" (1962:95). Elsewhere Needham has critiqued, though not rectified, the work of Durkheim and Mauss for harboring the unprovable assumption that in most instances "a society employs only one mode of classification at a time" (1963:xviii).

The practice and praxis of *tayil* defy such structural reductions in significant ways. It is not my goal to disdain or discredit structuralism: I cannot examine concepts of order or disorder, or of music and extra-music, without acknowledging the utility of various structuralist ideals. Yet much may be gained from an explanation of *tayil* that unveils the myriad layers of imagery and the breakdown of categorizations which performances of the phenomenon paraphrase. Jack Goody points out (1977:220) the dangers of "standardizing" data and informants at the expense of thick (but always incomplete) description:

this standardization . . . is essentially the result of applying graphic techniques to oral material. The result is often to freeze a contextual statement into a system of permanent oppositions, an outcome that may simplify reality for the observer but often at the expense of a real understanding of the actor's frame of reference. And to regard such tables as expressions of an underlying structure is to mistake metaphor for reality.

Revealing questions regarding ethnomusicology as a particular mode of abstraction and behavior have been raised by K. A. Gurlay (1978) and Charles Seeger (1976). The impact of scientific style on objects of inquiry can be witnessed in the omega to alpha trajectory that guides the reconstruction of most performance events. Following the method advocated by Anthony Seeger (1976), we can ask "what did you do?," "why did you do it?," "why did you do it in that way?," and "what does

it mean?." All of these questions could eventually lead us toward the ideational source of a process that results in the social act we have identified as "the performance of *tayil*." Because we can observe *tayil* performance but cannot observe the cognitive/experiential processes that generated the performance, we are forced to conduct inquiry in this seemingly awkward way.

As the offspring of specific cognitive processes, the *tayil* repertoire exhibits peculiarities which distinguish this phenomenon from other forms of Mapuche musical communication. The *tayil* represented in Figure 1C is known as *ufisha tayil*, or sheep *tayil*. In the community of Zaina Yegua, this *tayil* belongs to the Sayhueque, Huayquipán, and Ascencio lineages. In Malleo it is shared by the Sayhueque and Huenquir lineages. All of these kin groups associate their patrilineal ancestry and corporately shared soul (*kimpeñ*) with sheep. As is the case with any other *tayil*, *ufisha tayil* can be distinguished by its particular combination of melodic contour and vocables. Performers of this *tayil* describe the intoned line as "sheep-specific." The text, "*weke*," is meaningless in the Mapuche vernacular. The conversational term for sheep on the dialogue level of discourse (*dungún*) is *ufisha*. However, the Mapuche believe that the idea or sense of sheep as past and present creatures of the earth, and the essence of sheep-order transmitted through cosmological time, are not appropriate to *dungún* discourse. When relegated to the domains of introspective speech (*dungulún*) and entreaties (*dungunpewún*), the nature of the sheep patrilineal soul (*ufisha kimpeñ*) can only be paraphrased or transmuted as *weke*. The vocable *weke* does not necessarily convey a "secret" sense of *tayil*. Rather, it communicates deeper and far more complex memory and experiential associations than can be transmitted through the everyday or ordinary semantic loading of the term *ufisha*.

Tayil vocables, as experienced in the domains of introspection and of implorations, connote movement. Tomasa Epulef stated quite emphatically:

I can't remember the one *tayil* you are asking me for if you keep hounding me this way! You can't just ask me to pull out (*entún*) this "we" thing [text of sheep *tayil*], or this "wilkó" thing [text of water *tayil*], or that other one you were saying. It doesn't work like that.

You can ask me for the *tayil* of this family or of my mother. Then I can think/see (*rakiduamyén*) and say (*dungulún*), "yes, we are of the water"—even though our name doesn't say (*dungún*), "we are water people"—and then I can close my eyes and think/see, and then I can pull it (*entún*). Then I can think/see (*rakiduamyén*) and I can grow/change (*chemprali*) with it. . .

When the lines are coming again, I am watching [or thinking] them grow/change (*chemprali*) and move (*tunprali*) until I think/see the water saying/entreating (*dungunpewún*), "ko . . . ko . . . wil-kó-o-o-o-o-o-á" [here speech intonation glides slowly down to an octave below the first utterance of "kó"]. (Zaina Yegua, June 1978.)

Although each *tayil* is distinct in observable form and content, the *tayil* repertoire as a whole differs from other types of musical communication in the following six ways. 1) Each *tayil* consists of four phrases, henceforth called "tenses." 2) The end of each tense is signaled by a descending glide executed in approximate fourths, fifths, or octaves. 3) Each *tayil* section is stated (or each tense is conjugated) once; when the performer has gone through these four sections in sequence, she may stop on any internal cadence. 4) Pitch movement in 96% of all *tayil* recorded consists of whole-step progressions. Semitones are used in only 4% of 112 examples. 5) The *tayil* repertoire is not characterized by any unifying metric formulas. Women may interpolate rhythms or take as long as they need for their renditions, provided that they conjugate each tense at least once. 6) Perhaps of even greater significance is the posture or physical ethos of *tayil* performers. Differing from practice in all other forms of Mapuche musical communication, *tayil* performances should occur only during daylight hours. Performers should remain immobile; this applies conspicuously to vocal technique: women "pull" *tayil* through clenched teeth. Such a convention is noteworthy in this case, for the Mapuche regard clean, clipped, and distinct enunciation as desirable qualities in oratory and sung improvisation.

Mapuche collaborators have offered four explanations for this last aspect of vocal technique. 1) Clenching teeth gives the texts a cutting edge and, 2) insures that the performer can project sound adequately without risking evil penetration and consequent obstruction of the mouth. 3) *Entún tayil*, or "pulling" *tayil*, requires extreme mental concentration and extraordinary physical force. Figure 2 represents a situation in which a performer had seated herself about 5 meters behind her husband. From this position, with all concerned facing East, the woman forcefully "pulled out" the *tayil* shared by her husband and all his living and deceased lineage mates. 4) By performing through clenched teeth and with minimal lip movements, women insure that the deities and ancestors being addressed will not confuse *tayil* with song. Song cannot reach the realm of ancestral or past time; but if for some reason songs were to cross the time barrier, the deities would pay them no heed. On the other hand, *tayil* demands explicit cosmological attention; it cannot be ignored.

One observation, which I have not yet tested adequately in the field context, merits mention at this point. In June of 1978 I convinced four Mapuche women to perform *tayil* without clenching their teeth. Two were locally recognized *veteranas*, or seasoned performers of *tayil*. The other two were in their late twenties, and were locally recognized as competent though not mature performers of *tayil*. In all four instances, the women were unable to continue past a specific tone in either the second or third

phrase. On this tone, called *chemprali*, they either faded out or came to a dry halt. Their responses ranged from bewilderment to chagrin: "I can't see (or think)! I lost my path!" We could conclude from these preliminary tests that clenching teeth also manifests a harnessing or centering of memory and an extrapolation of thought-imagery—for the performers are applying *forceful action* from the physical (and everyday) domain to translate an action that was precipitated in the sensory or pictorial (and both extra-ordinary and everyday) domain.⁶

If indeed we are witnessing a forceful transformation of thought into social actions or of images into sounds, we should not be surprised to find that the execution of *tayil* produces exhaustion in the performer. *Tayil* are prescribed during yearly rites of increase, before and after animals are shifted from low to high grazing lands, prior to traveling, during funerals, and during times of individual or lineage-encompassing crises. Excepting ceremonial contexts, women prefer to sit while performing *tayil*. During and after their renditions—be these for culturally prescribed or for specially requested didactic situations—women describe feelings of fatigue, heaviness, dizziness, and de-centering. Despite the intense cold of the Andes Mountains, most women perspire profusely during their performances.

The "physicality" of these performances guides us toward the aesthetic criteria applied to and by *tayil* interpreters. *Kimtayilei* is an adjective frequently ascribed to female ritual specialists, of *witakultruntufe*. Each community has its own *witakultruntufe*, and charges her with the responsibility of knowing the *tayil* of all the lineages represented in public gatherings. *Kimei* means good, pleasing, or efficient. *Kimtayilei* means that a woman performs *tayil* proficiently. Three criteria of *tayil* proficiency are currently employed by the Mapuche: 1) clarity of projection, or the ability to "cut the air with the knife"; 2) experience in the "pulling" of *tayil* as demonstrated through physical endurance; 3) quick and consistent recall of melodic contours and vocables. The first two ideals of aesthetics dovetail with aspects of performance practice discussed earlier. The third criterion, good memory, leads us back to the realm of cognitive and behavioral styles.

The Mapuche contend that some pubescent girls and some young women are *kipákimeitayil* or, in Spanish, *tienen afición para sacar tayil*. Both *kipá* and *afición* signal an inborn aptitude for *tayil* performance. This quality is always applied to, rather than subscribed to by specific women. In answering the question, "what makes her *kipákimeitayil*?" 49 out of 56 respondents mentioned clarity of projection, endurance, and memory. Of all these variables, memory was most emphatically stressed. Women considered to have a natural inclination or "inborn" aptitude for *tayil* also

have the most active and most articulated pre-performance imagery. These women also tend to prepare or "still" (and steel) themselves the longest prior to pulling *tayil*. The time that a woman takes to think/see *tayil* before she utters it can vary from 35 to 110 seconds. Statistics compiled in 1972 and 1978 indicate that women regarded as *veteranas* and/or *aficionadas* took 65 to 110 seconds to translate the sensory experience of thought imagery into a physical, social, and communicative act.

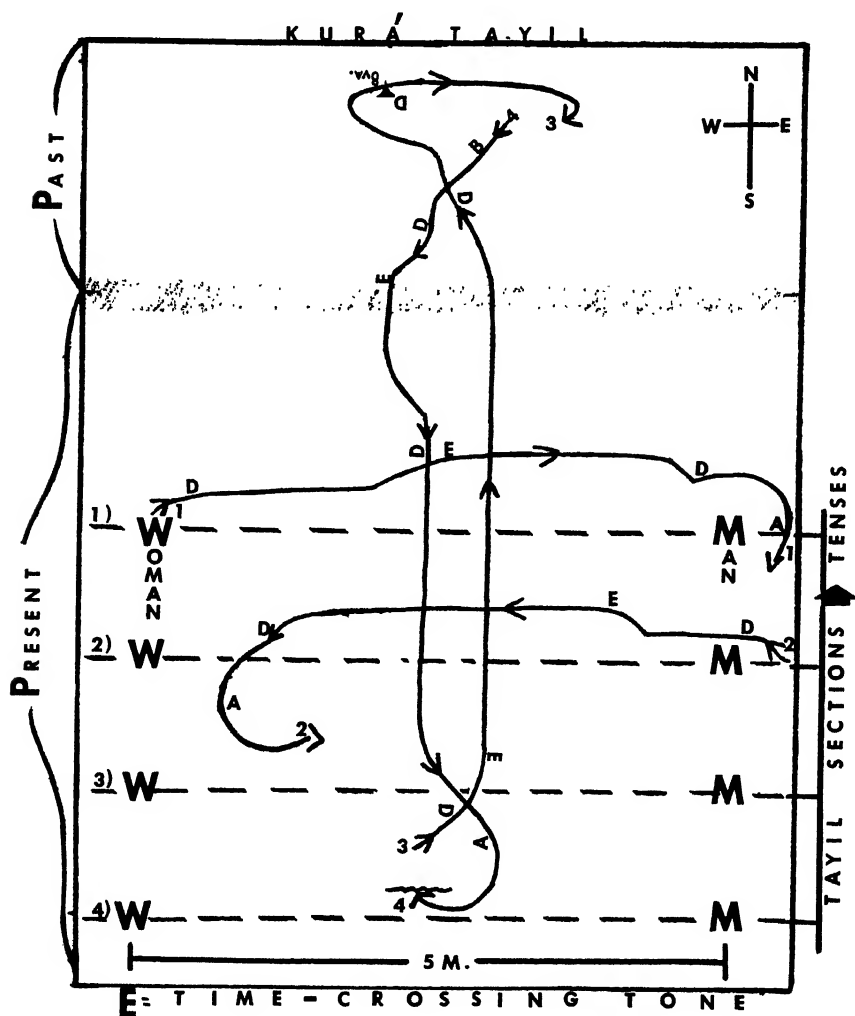


Figure 2. Mnemonic visualization of “Kura Tayil.”

Proficient *tayil* performers generally hold in common three of the six cognitive images mentioned earlier: upwards and downwards body displacement; lines that rise, wind, and fall; and heat. Figure 2 is a scaled drawing of the lines made on the ground by Ignacia Epullán (1978) after she had performed her husband's *tayil*. This sketch was reproduced by Doña Ignacia in two subsequent performances, and was confirmed as accurate and "typical" by her kinswomen. *Tayil* "transcriptions" by this and other performers should be read according to the directions that every *tayil* takes as it is pulled forth:

Tense 1: from the performer to the object(s) of performance; here, from the seated woman to her standing husband (facing North, read from left to right).

Time/space domain: *alün* (general present).

Tense 2: from the objects(s) of performance into the present and personalized field of *action* (facing North, read from right to left).

Time/space domain: *fachichipantü* (operationalized present).

Tense 3: from the present into the cosmological time realm of idealized past (facing East, read from right to left).

Time/space domain: *kuifi* (that portion of *alüaluntu* to which the living have access).

Tense 4: from past time into the present-to-be (facing West, read from right to left).

Time/space domain: *fachiwechipantümán* (those portions of *alün* that can and will occur only after they have been visualized).

This sketch, as well as drawings of 22 "path images" linked to 13 other *tayil* performances, state at least five laws of internal ordering. 1) Melodic movement is "seen" in relative distances, rather than "heard" in exact intervals. 2) each *tayil* phrase conjugates the communicative phenomenon and event in or into specific domains of time and space. The Mapuche generally bound time into two spheres—what has happened and what is happening. Here the nuances of motion and action are of importance, for the past and present are molded by human and supra-human transformations of thought into statement and experience. Moreover, while actions-to-be must be visualized in order to reach fruition, they must also turn to the past for impetus and validation. 3) Each phrase or tense transports the communicative event to and from the performer, the person whose *tayil* is being pulled out, the ancestors, and the arena of public or social actions existing in the ongoing present. Thus, the act of performance also validates the actors through a certification of their an-

cestral links and credentials of kin association. 4) The first three lines or tenses show the path that the patrilineal soul must take to reach ancestral time when it separates from its owner(s) at death. Mapuche generally believe that women have better chances than men of reaching the ancestral realm without confusion because they have the opportunity to "rehearse" the journey visually many times. In their capacity of life-givers, women hold a revered, symbiotic relationship with the past and the ancestors. Lines of inheritance and kin affiliation are traced through males, but birth into a patrilineage can be acknowledged only through women. 5) Performances are always transported across the time barrier by the same pitch. In *kurá* or "rock" *tayil* (Figure 2), the time-crossing tone is E. This particular pitch, as well as its counterparts in all other *tayil*, is called *chempralitún*—the "growing" or "changing" tone. This is the only tone named by the Mapuche; and it is the tone on which participants in the non-clenched teeth experiment ceased their performances. *Chemprali* tones bridge the temporal abyss between present and past, and between the ideals of cosmological time and the realities of mundane, daily experience.

Mapuche philosophies of musical thought and social action challenge many cross-culturalized notions of ethnomusicological contemplation. In due time, this discussion of *tayil* may allow a reformulation or quickening of our approaches to tonal centers, transcriptive devices and purposes, musical ordering, and cognitive processes. I am not ready to postulate thought as described herein, or thought-imagery as experienced by the Mapuche in *tayil*, as a paradigm of uniform psycho-physical distribution in *homo sapiens*. I am ready to underline the need for further documentation and for qualitative comparisons, which can eventually lead to more general explanations and theories. Some pioneering documentation has been provided by Reichel-Dolmatoff (1978) on relationships between spinning, weaving, and thinking among the Kogi. Judith Vander reports that the Shoshone "talk of the *curves* of a song. Some elderly people like the older songs better, as they had fewer curves. People who get mixed up while singing a song say they fell off the curves" (1978). The guidelines suggested by Anthony Seeger (1978) in his analysis of Suyá performance could be useful to comparativists addressing philosophies of thought and action among Amerindian peoples.

This essay provides a few clues for more ambitious cognitive generalization. I have explored musical performance as a social act that obtains from the ordering of particular mental processes. Among the Mapuche of Argentina and quite possibly among many other peoples, the cognitive process proceeds from task definition—here the need for the performance of a patrilineally shared soul—to a "sense" of the nature of the task, to

the coding of that sense into imagery, to the selection/translation/articulation of images into *action*. Thus, the performance or utterance of *tayil* exists as evidence of a particular but probably not unique kind of thought process.⁷

The thought-imagery or picture-wording associated with *tayil* performances is of special interest to the ethnomusicologist. The Mapuche assert that people do not think in words; rather, they think in "pictures." Images prefacing *tayil* performances usually include lines which "rise, twist, and fall." Stick-on-ground illustrations of these visualized lines or paths follow the melodic contour of each *tayil* phrase. The Mapuche regard these paths as outlines of or directions to Social Order as devised in cosmological time: the lines indicate the direction that each patrilineal soul must take when it separates from the individual's body at death to join the ancestors.

I have also related concepts of thought transformation to concepts of social transformation. The social function of *tayil* has changed significantly during the last century, but its essential nature seems to have remained constant. At one time, *tayil* ownership and inheritance access motivated cross-cousin marriages, patrilineal incorporation, and ultimate cosmological access. Some of these behavioral patterns persist within interpretations of Order that are more harmonious with present social needs. However, the nature of *tayil*—what it is rather than what it does—seems to have remained cohesive: *tayil* is the end product of a process through which the patrilineal soul is translated or paraphrased into social act and fact. The complexity of what *tayil* is in the present and the present-to-be remains coded in the picture-wording and associated behavior of *tayil* performances.

Additional data substantiate the observation that *tayil* has undergone *mozawán*, or outward changes of physique or form (or function). *Tayil* has also been linked to *wezuñú*, or changes in behavior and interaction. But *tayil* has not been subjected to *werakiduán*, for its core idea or nature has remained constant.

The significance of *tayil* as a recognizable, active, and layered province of meaning of complex and transcendent cognitive style may be abstracted from the following statement made by the late Senobia Huenuquir:

This story about marrying my mother's brother's son is just crazy talk of the old folks [Senobia turned 73 in 1972]. That stuff about the old deities up in the middle of the sky is even worse . . . And these priests who say they are from the Roman Apostolic Virgin are worse than worse. I don't believe any of them; though when I told it to the priest he told me I was an "atheist." I don't know what that means. My late husband used to say that I was just an old chicken.

I may be an old chicken, but I've always taken care of myself like a hawk. I'll go to the rites this year, but I know for sure it won't rain. . .

I do know this: none of that superstitious talk may be true—and I think the priest is more confused than the chief—but when I pull out *tayil* I go to some other place. I know and I think/see that the ancestors were real people. It scares me: when it comes to *tayil* I can feel them in the air. (Aucapán, March 1972.)

Herein lies the nexus of performance practice and praxis: what we do vis-à-vis what we think we do; and how the provinces of meaning that we entertain in the conceptual world converge with those we observe and live in the world of communicable experience. "Practice" and "praxis" are but parts of the transactions that arbitrate our relationships with our various environments.

The "socio-historical contexts" of *tayil* performances have been treated elsewhere (Robertson-DeCarbo 1976). I have been concerned here with the "cognitive contexts" of *tayil* performances, and with those ideational underpinnings that accomodate transformation. Common sense requires that these two perspectives be considered as possible and overlapping approaches to explanation, rather than as data-based dichotomies.

"Praxis" as the formulation and exercise of goal-oriented thought, and "practice" as the pragmatic manipulation of thought into action and action into "sense," exist for both the actor and the analyst on different (but complementary) planes of abstraction. Neither plane is exclusively synthetic or analytical. Both levels of abstraction are open to change; for the Mapuche must ultimately implement and condition their own conceptualizations within the uncertainties and machinations of a social world. If thinking and acting are thus open to alteration, so be it with ethnomusicalogical dogmas.

Because of the implications of this perspective and the myriad questions that remain unanswered, I would urge you to think about thinking in your own research settings—if nothing else, to contemplate how our thinking about thinking could inform our thinking about and observations of acting.

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NOTES

1. These data were collected among the Central Andean peoples of Argentina known as "Mapuche." Commonalities with the Mapuche of Chile can be attributed in part to a centuries-old economic and punitive network joining both sides of the Andes mountains.

2. Mapuche concepts of language include principles of agglutination.

3. The "seminar" structure aided research on three Mapuche reservations. Individuals who were on amicable terms with one another, had shown relative ease in earlier interview sessions, and were recognized by their peers as being knowledgeable about specific subjects were invited to share their ideas and their interpretations of my ideas. Seminars usually included 6 to 8 participants. These meetings were used to cross-check data, generate new questions, and deepen earlier discussions in which I had had to rely on the memory, attention, and good will of isolated individuals.

4. All quotations from informants are my translations from the Mapuche language, or from a mixture of Mapuche and Spanish.

5. The relationships perceived between thinking and feeling require further investigation. Both realms of affect are believed to influence each other while remaining autonomous in source and mode of articulation. Thinking is housed in the head; feeling originates in the stomach. In those instances where I have chosen the term "sense" to label an aspect of cognition, I am referring to the still elusive component of feeling that underlies thinking and acting.

6. There is at least one alternate interpretation of these test results: the amount of displaced concentration required to counteract the usual practice of teeth-clenching may have debilitated the forcefulness of thought-to-action transformations. However, the hypothesis advanced herein is substantiated because all participants in the experiment broke off their renditions when they approached or articulated the "time-crossing" or *chemprali* tone (see Figure 2), which is said to demand the greatest amount of energy from the performer.

7. Thought imagery also extends into other domains of Mapuche behavior. For example, some textiles are woven and traded in pairs known to be inseparable. The designs, warp, weft, and color sequence of these "pairs" are never identical. Whereas a non-Mapuche would find few similarities between pair constituents, Mapuche weavers and critics claim that these textiles are the *same*. "Sameness" is here determined by the derivation of both patterns from a common thought imagery. That imagery can only be fully represented through the combined patterns of both weavings within a "pair."

APPENDIX: GLOSSARY OF MAPUCHE TERMS

Mapuche vocabulary in Mapuche and Spanish is listed alphabetically under five topical headings. Agglutination occurs in the form of prefixes, suffixes, and compound subject-object phrases. All nouns and verbs take the same form in singular or plural usages; quantity can be indicated with prefatory numerical adjectives.

- A. Concepts of order
 - 1. *kimeweichupantü*: unauthorized human tampering with ancestral order.
 - 2. *norturyú*: "the law," or the formulation of Order in ancestral time.
- B. Concepts of time
 - 1. *alün*: the present; time since the ancestors; temporal sphere embracing each individual and four preceding generations.
 - 2. *alüaluntu*: the past; historical or cosmological time; temporal sphere encompassing all ancestors beyond *alün* as well as deities.
 - 3. *fachichipantü*: personalized time; the present as an arena of action; "done here-here in this place under the sun."
 - 4. *fachiwechipantümán*: what will happen now; options within the present that have not yet been chosen; "being done here in the sky, here under the sun."
 - 5. *kuiñi*: ancestral time; usually refers to choices made by the ancestors in times past.
- C. Speech and thought modes
 - 1. *dungu*: word; sound patterns in general.
 - 2. *dungulün*: praying; entreating.
 - 3. *dunguwenpin*: public debate; use of metaphors in oratory.
 - 4. *lukutún dungu*: discourse and speech patterns specific to rogations in yearly rites of increase.
 - 5. *kimpeñ*: *tayil* texts (see E. 4).
 - 6. *rakiduamyén*: to engage in thinking; to see from afar.
- D. Modes of transformation
 - 1. *chempralí*: to grow; to change as a result of physical or intellectual growth (see D.4).
 - 2. *mozawán*: to change in appearance; alterations in surface but not in substance.
 - 3. *rakiduán*: to change by decree; to change the rules of a game.
 - 4. *tunpralí*: motion; to unfold slowly; designates the "act" or process of growing (see D.1).
 - 5. *werakiduán*: new ideas; sources of new ideas; visions; fantasies.
 - 6. *wezuryú*: changes in behavior and interaction.
- E. Performance variables and aesthetic tenets
 - 1. *aficionadas* (Spanish): women who have a "natural inclination" or aptitude for *tayil* performance.
 - 2. *entún*: to extract by force; to pull out; act of performing *tayil*.
 - 3. *kimei*: beautiful; pleasing; efficient; ordered.
 - 4. *kimpeñ*: the soul shared by all living and deceased members of a patrilineage.
 - 5. *kimtayilei*: appellative enjoined to (female) ritual specialists; "she who pulls *tayil* in an ordered/pleasing way."
 - 6. *kipákimeitayil*: laudatory adjective applied to women with aptitude for *tayil* performance.
 - 7. *tayil*: aural component of the patrilineally shared soul; verbalization of the ordering of lineage continuity.
 - 8. *veteranas* (Spanish): female elders; seasoned *tayil* performers.
 - 9. *witakultruntufe*: female ritual specialist(s); women charged with knowing the *tayil* of lineages that partake in annual rites of increase.

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KAMAYURÁ FLUTE MUSIC: A STUDY OF MUSIC AS META-COMMUNICATION

Jonathan Hill

INTRODUCTION

The goal of this study is to demonstrate how musical performances in three Kamayurá rituals constitute a concrete metasymbolic code for ceremonial behavior. In seeking to identify structural interrelations among the cultural belief system of the Kamayurá, their flute music, and the social order of their village, it is necessary to focus on relations between relations or bundles of relations rather than one-to-one correspondences among particular mythical, musical, and social forms.

The Kamayurá are one of 13 or so single-village groups living in the area of the headwaters of the Xingu River, a major southern tributary of the Amazon in Central Brazil. All four of the major language families of lowland South America (Gê, Tupí, Karib, and Aruak) are spoken in the Upper Xingu region. The Kamayurá speak a language of the Tupían family. As the level of multilingualism in the region is very low, members of different villages cannot verbally communicate with one another without the help of a translator. Nevertheless, the nine groups of the southern half of the region, including the Kamayurá, share a common basic pattern of social organization and ecological adaptation. Each village group is an autonomous political unit consisting of several domestic household groups, each with its own recognized headman. The household groups serve as basic units of economic production. Fishing is the most important productive activity among men, as most species of animals and birds are not hunted. Although both sexes participate in the planting and weeding of manioc gardens, women provide the great amount of labor needed to process manioc tubers into edible products, such as *farinha* (flour) and *beiju* (flat bread). These villages are loosely integrated through occasional intermarriages, networks of trade in specialized objects,¹ intertribal rituals, and political alliances against common enemies.

THE JAQUI: RITUAL, MYTH, AND MUSIC

The *jaqui*, a series of rites connected with the spirit-mothers (*mamaé*) of fish, is held every year at the beginning of the dry season in early April. As the dry season progresses, fish becomes the most important part of the Kamayurá diet. The explicit purpose of the *jaqui* dances is to "bring the fish" (Oberg 1963:57). The dancers wear masks representing various animals and birds. The most important masked dance is called *jaqui ikatú* (good or great *jaqui*). During this dance, three men play the sacred *jaqui* flutes to invite the various spirits to enter their village from the surrounding forests and streams. These spirits are believed to bring strength and good health to the men, provided that the proper restrictions are observed. Most important among these rules is abstaining from sexual intercourse for three days prior to the ritual: "sexual contact is believed to be somewhat dangerous, weakening the body and causing illness if excessive" (Basso 1973:63). For the same reason, men will abstain from sexual intercourse on the evening before a fishing expedition.

The *jaqui* dances are performed by men in the middle of the village, while women and children remain secluded in their houses at the periphery. The latter are strictly forbidden to see either the dances or the sacred flutes. If a woman breaks this rule, she risks being gang-raped by all the men of the village. The flutes are wrapped in bark-cloth cases when not in use and stored inside the flute house (*tapwí*) at the center of the village plaza. The *jaqui* symbolizes a relation of dialectical opposition between the sexes as groups. This opposition of the sexes as the focus of an on-going ideological struggle is expressed in a Kamayurá myth, "Iamuricumá Women" (Villas Boas 1970:119-21). The myth establishes a time and place in which the social order was reversed and women controlled the *jaqui* flutes. But the mythical twins, Sun and Moon (*Kwát* and *Yai*), saw the women dancing on the village plaza and decided to frighten them away by whirling a giant bullroarer (*horí-horí*). As the women ran for cover, the men "came out of their houses shouting with joy and grabbed the *jaqui* flutes . . . When the Moon saw this he said, 'From now on it will always be like this' " (ibid.:120-21). The *jaqui*, therefore, is a re-enactment of the mythical triumph of male fishermen over female horticulturalists in the struggle for control over the sacred flutes. The seclusion of women in households at the periphery of the village serves to redefine the boundary between the sexes as groups.

Three men play the *jaqui* flutes together while seated on short stools in front of the flute house. The main part is played on the longest flute by a master of music (*maraka'ip*), and his two apprentices play on either side of him. The two smaller flutes begin playing a short introductory passage

during which the durations of notes are all quite short and the intensities relatively soft. When the *maraka'ip* starts to play, however, his notes are much longer and louder. During his melody, the two smaller flutes play only secondary, accompanying parts that are mainly rhythmical rather than melodic and often barely audible above the line of the *maraka'ip*. According to Bastos (1976: 109, italics mine):

The music is rapid, then it diminishes; it goes to the large flute . . . Very rapid. Loud. Strong. *It changes completely*. "Kwañp" is always the same. It does not have a master of music.²

Example 1 includes an entire performance of the *jaqui* flutes instead of a representative sample in order to show how the music changes over time.

After the introduction by the two apprentices, the main theme of the *maraka'ip* is played and then repeated once. Transitional passages similar to the introduction connect the melodic phrases of the *maraka'ip*. At the completion of two alternations between the melody of the *maraka'ip* and the accompaniment, the performance changes in two noticeable ways: 1) the *maraka'ip* adds a new, third tone to his melody and 2) he lengthens each phrase to approximately twice the duration of the earlier two phrases. (The apprentices' parts do not change in these ways, however.) These two changes function together as a sort of cadence. They direct the performance towards a final point of repose. Thus, the piece ends on a sustained note of the same pitch as the new tone introduced in the middle of the performance.

THE TAQUARA DANCE AND MUSIC OF THE TARAWÍ FLUTES

The *taquara* dance can be held during any season of the year, whenever the Kamayurá consider it necessary to rid their households of evil spirits and witches resulting from contact with outsiders.³ A pair of male dancers play double-barrelled *tarawí* flutes while proceeding through each household in the village.

These flutes, measuring two meters in length, are made of *taquara* (a kind of bamboo). The Indians believe that the chant of these flutes can exorcise the spirits. The players go from house to house in the village, trying to send the spirits away. (Villas Boas 1972.)

If a household group is plagued by sickness, accidents, or other misfortunes, a shaman is called on to divine the cause. Possible causes fall into two related categories: the witchcraft of an outsider or the anger of the *tarawí* spirit.

If the former is found to be the case, then counter-witchcraft techniques are applied to protect the innocent victims of the households in the

Example 1. Music of the *jaqui* flutes. (Villas Boas 1972: track 1, item 3.)

♩ = 132 ; V = stressed pulse

apprentice

1. a Maraka'ip (master of music)

apprentice

1. b

2. a Maraka'ip adds a new pitch

2. b

lengthens phrase

Example 1 (continued)

The musical score is written in three systems. Each system contains three staves. The top staff uses a treble clef, the middle staff an alto clef, and the bottom staff a bass clef. The music is in a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation is handwritten and includes various musical symbols such as beams, slurs, and dynamic markings. The first system shows a complex rhythmic pattern in the top staff, followed by a melodic line in the middle staff and a bass line in the bottom staff. The second system continues the melodic and bass lines. The third system shows a final melodic phrase in the top staff, a sustained note in the middle staff, and a rhythmic pattern in the bottom staff.

village. If the anger of the *tarawí* spirit is held to be responsible, then the household's members themselves are at fault for ignoring their obligations to the spirit during the course of their everyday activities. The *tarawí* spirit is seen as a guardian of the household that resides in the main house posts. It becomes angry if people fail to pray to the garden spirits when planting or to the fish spirits when fishing. "Sometimes Tarawí makes his anger known to a *payé*, shaman, who then instructs the people to burn their house and build a new one" (Oberg 1963:15). The *taquara* dance forms a mediating link between these two types of causes by employing the *tarawí* flutes, an embodiment of Tarawí's benevolent powers, to drive away evil, alien spirits. The *taquara* dance provides the Kamayurá with a way of redefining the boundary between themselves and outsiders without resorting to the extreme measures of burning down their houses and relocating their village further from the source of danger.

Each *tarawí* flute has two tubes of unequal length. Two flutes are played together producing four tones in a hocket style. One flute plays the lowest tone and the second highest, while the other plays the highest tone and the second lowest. The four tones span intervals of approximately 600, 300, and 200 cents. There are no ornaments or other modifications of pitch. In the transcription, both flutes are on the same staff to emphasize the single, continuous line created by the hocket style of the melody (see Example 2).

Analysis of the *tarawí* flute music reveals very definite phrases. After the introduction of the lower flute, the first eight notes constitute a single phrase, which is then repeated. Throughout the performance, each phrase is started on the higher flute and ends on the lower flute. The changes that occur after the first two phrases follow a set of rules that directs the piece towards a cadential point. First, there is a change in the duration of each phrase from eight notes (pulses) to six. The effect of this shortening is a sort of rhythmic acceleration. The length of phrases does not change again until the next section of the piece, in which exactly the same sequence of phrases is repeated in another household. The second rule governing cadence is that of progressively decreasing the number of pitches. After two phrases of eight notes in duration, the highest pitch is deleted leaving only three pitches for the next four phrases. Then the second highest pitch drops out for the next four phrases. Finally, after ten phrases, only the lowest pitch remains until the end of the section, except for a very short grace note played on the upper flute. Thus, *tarawí* flute music follows two rules of cadence: 1) the deletion of pitches and 2) the shortening of phrases.

INTERPRETATION

A comparison of the changes found in the music of the *jaqui* and *tarawí* flutes demonstrates that the two performances act as markers of a



Example 2. Music of the *tarawí* flutes. (Villas Boas 1972: track 1, item 8.)

classificatory operation of binary opposition. In *jaqui* flute music, the duration of melodic phrases is lengthened and a new pitch is added, whereas exactly the opposite transformation is present in the music of the *tarawí* flutes. This musical opposition acts as a concrete meta-symbolic code for ceremonial behavior that includes a variety of contextual dimensions in the *jaqui* and the *taquara* dance taken as a whole system. The category of male-female relations is internally differentiated in the *jaqui* and, at a higher structural level, is in binary opposition to the category of insider-outsider relations that is internally differentiated in the *taquara* dance. The binary opposition of these two categories of social relations is an expression of the cultural ideal of village endogamy, a basic principle of Kamayurá social organization.⁴ In terms of the mythical beliefs associated with the music of the *jaqui* and *tarawí* flutes, the invitation of helpful spirits into the village during the *jaqui* is structurally opposed to the driving out of evil spirits during the *taquara* dance. And in the dimension of time, whereas the *jaqui* is held every year at the beginning of the dry season, the *taquara* dance is not held during any particular season of the year but at times of crisis that are believed to have social and supernatural causes. I am tempted to borrow Evans-Pritchard's distinction between ecological and structural time (1940:104) to distinguish between the two contrasting types of timing that the *jaqui* and the *taquara* dance represent. But in order not to confuse this restricted sense of the term "structural" with the more general analytical concept of structure (Lévi-Strauss 1963a:210) used in this study, I will call the timing of the *taquara* dance "social" as opposed to ecological.

THE KWARIP CEREMONY AND MUSIC OF THE URUÁ FLUTES

The *kwariip* ceremony is the first of a cycle of ritual dances held at the beginning of the rainy season in late August. The ceremony is held only during those years in which a man of high prestige (*marekwat*) has died. The *kwariip* is both a special dance in commemoration of the dead and "a symbolic joining of young people in marriage in the presence of the ancestors in order to perpetuate and increase tribal members" (Oberg 1963:56). This duality of purpose is expressed in the dual format of the ceremony itself. The first part is basically a solemn funeral rite, while the second part is a joyous festival that includes singing, dancing, playing the *uruá* flutes, feasting, and wrestling.

A few days before the ritual begins, a messenger (*paría*) is sent to invite the guest tribes. These tribes travel overland on the day before the *kwariip* ceremony to camping sites about 1 km. outside of the hosts' vil-

lage. On the morning of the first day, men of the host tribe go into the forest and cut several logs from *camiuva* trees, each about 3' long and 10' in diameter. The logs are brought into the village in a slow procession led by two singers, usually shamans or household headmen. The only musical instrument used during the march is a small rattle made with seeds of the *piqui* fruit. Women and children are not allowed to watch this procession and are secluded inside the houses. The men march around the grave site ('*apenáp*') and then place the logs vertically in a row between the grave site and the flute house. After decorating the logs with vertical lines or triangles in black and white, they dress some of them with headdresses, necklaces, and other ceremonial belongings of the deceased being honored.

On the morning of the ceremony, they paint the logs, a ritual that the women can not attend. . . Each Kuarup represents an individual who died and is going to be commemorated in the ceremony. The respective Kuarup is prepared by the family of the deceased. (Santos 1956:112.)

When the logs have been completed, a messenger leads the men of the visiting tribes into the village plaza. Women and children come out of their houses to participate in a long session of body painting. The guests are asked if they approve of the logs' decorations.

Around 4 P.M. the director (*yayat*) of the ceremony calls for the master of music to initiate the first *kwarip* dance. The men dance around the grave site and finish with great shouts of joy. This dance marks the first stage in a transition from mourning rites to marriage festivities and is accompanied by a change in musical instruments. Instead of *piqui* rattles, believed to evoke powerful spirits (*mamaé*) when used by shamans in curing ceremonies, the singers now shake rattles (*maracas*) made from gourds. The head singer must excuse himself to the director after the dance for singing so "poorly," even though he knows that he sang well (Agostinho 1974:62). At night, the men gather at the grave site and smoke cigars, while two young men play *uruá* flutes in the flute house until daybreak. By 6 A.M., all of the men have re-painted their bodies in the flute house to prepare for the feasting, dancing, and wrestling of the second day.

At sunrise, the first pairs of *uruá* dancers appear on the village plaza, fully painted and costumed in headdresses, necklaces, and large earrings. They initiate their dance between the flute house and the grave site, move towards the house of the director, and go from house to house in a counter-clockwise direction around the village.

The force with which the dancer hits the ground is the standard measurement of the quality of the dancer . . . the movement of the body always repeats this pattern: the left foot advances gently, the other strongly and simultaneous with the body's weight thrown downward and to the right. (Agostinho 1974:114.)

The rhythm of the dance accelerates as the fishermen enter the village with a great load of fish. Singing is heard in the houses of the guests, signifying the arrival of the guest women and children. Two pairs of *uruá* flute players emerge from different houses, take a turn around the grave site, and head into the house of the director. Here they interrupt the dance to receive a meal of fish and *beiju*. The other men are served food at the flute house. Meanwhile, several new pairs of *uruá* dancers emerge from different houses, this time including women and even small children who can barely get a sound out of the 7-foot long flutes. The older men look on and laugh at these awkward dancers. A general atmosphere of gaiety and happiness prevails. The director pronounces a ritual incantation by the *kwarip* logs, while the men eat and joke about the *uruá* dancers. This meal marks the end of the first part of the ceremony.

Following the meal, each mourner is ritually washed and painted. Then the mourners reciprocate by painting the others. At 2 or 3 P.M., the director calls the singers to the center of the village, and some wrestling (*huka-huka*) begins informally. After a short period of singing, playing the *uruá* flutes, and joking designed to make the mourners laugh, the men circle the grave site in the *kwarip* dance for a second time. The wrestling matches continue until each man has wrestled several bouts. A final dance, called *ho'at*, begins around 7 P.M. Pairs of *uruá* dancers go around the village and are joined by young women who have recently left puberty seclusion. The women dance behind the men with one hand on the shoulder of the dancer in front. After the village is completely circled, the director distributes fish, first among the dancers and then among the spectators. The visitors sleep that night in the houses of the hosts' village and leave for home the next morning. The *kwarip* ceremony is over. Later in the wet season, ceremonies in honor of the *piqui* tree spirits will be enacted, but without the participation of visiting tribes.

In Kamayurá myth, the first *kwarip* ceremony was initiated by Sun and Moon, twin grandsons of the creator (Mavutsinim), in honor of their deceased mother. "There, their grandfather said to them, 'When you go back, you must make your mother's Kuarup' " (Villas Boas 1970:66). At the beginning of this myth, Mavutsinim had created five daughters out of wood. These artificial daughters, one of which became the twins' mother, were made so that Mavutsinim would not have to send two of his real daughters to become the jaguar's wives. Thus, the *kwarip* ceremony reenacts Mavutsinim's creation of women out of wood.

A different myth, called "The Training of the Wrestler" (Villas Boas 1970:206-210), emphasizes the social value that the Kamayurá attach to success in wrestling. In the initial setting of the myth, Kuluaná, a chief's son, has been placed in seclusion to make him stronger because he always

lost in wrestling contests. Seclusion of adolescents is regulated by household headmen. If a son shows signs of immaturity after he has left seclusion, his father can send him back. For both sexes, the purpose of seclusion is "to make young people beautiful" (Basso 1973:72). Seclusion of girls lasts for about 3 years; for boys, 5 or 6 years. The period of seclusion is important as a time of formal training in ritual specialties, including musical performance (Agostinho 1974:109). In the first episode of the myth, Kuluaná's tribe is invited to attend a festival at a nearby village, but his father orders him to stay behind. Here Kuluaná is being treated as a woman or child, as only adult men of the visiting tribes enter the hosts' village on the first day of the *kwarip* ceremony. In the second episode, Kuluaná meets a spirit of the *manucaia* tree who explains that "he was weak because he used women's things" (Villas Boas 1970:207). After taking off his effeminate attire, Kuluaná becomes an unbeatable wrestler. In the last episode, Kuluaná makes the people of his village happy by dancing the *uruá* around the *kwarip* logs and amazes everyone by winning all of his wrestling matches.

The myth of the training of the wrestler links the *kwarip* ceremony to the end of puberty seclusion as well as to the acquisition of prestige through success in wrestling. In addition to these two social transformations, the *kwarip* ceremony is also connected with the end of a period of mourning during which close kinsmen of the deceased are obligated to cut their hair, scarify their heads and arms, and wail in loud voices. The change from mourning to normal status is explicitly dramatized by the washing of the mourners' heads with water on the second day. Another rite of passage celebrated in the *kwarip* is marriage. Men and women of the same tribe symbolize their entrance into a status of "pure" marriage by dancing the *uruá* together and cutting each other's hair. A final social transformation that the *kwarip* represents and that has great importance in the social order of the village as a whole is the acquisition of the status of headman by a younger brother or son of the deceased *marekwat*. Collective fishing with poison of the *timbó* vine, production of large amounts of *beiju*, and preparing the *kwarip* logs are all activities that facilitate the selection of a headman because they all require a high degree of cooperation and integration both within and among household groups of the village. "The Kwarip . . . represents a synthesis of diverse rites of passage" (Viertler 1969:85). In essence, these social transformations all work in favor of village social integration and against the centrifugal tendencies of the separate household groups. They resolve social tensions through a movement of individuals from structurally marginal statuses (seclusion, bachelorhood, mourning) into more central, inclusive categories of social relations.

No special initiation or supernatural experience is necessary to become an *uruá* flute player. Whoever wishes to play may do so, and he or she may stop at any time to repair an instrument or simply to rest.

The *uruá* players are spontaneous and motivated by the desire to earn Mingau [fish]. . . But the real motivation is to exhibit themselves with great pomp and to gain prestige as a good dancer and flute player. (Agostinho 1974:112.)

Although women and children play the *uruá* flutes during one stage of the festivities, the most common arrangement is a pair of male dancers.

The music of the *uruá* flutes consists of five melodic tones and sharp overtones produced by overblowing. At times, this technique causes a vibrato effect that alternates between two pitches a half-step apart. At other times, these two pitches are played as distinctly different notes. Accordingly, I have notated these with sharp and natural signs (see Example 3).

My transcription includes only two representative phrases rather than the whole performance, because *uruá* flute music does not contain any of the structural changes found in the music of the *jaqui* and *tarawí* flutes. One flute takes the lead, while the other plays an accompaniment. Then the lower flute takes the lead, while the other accompanies, and so forth throughout the performance.

The music of "uru'á" begins on the middle (tube), from there it goes to the large tube . . . this tube sent it back to the little one. From there it has a theme ("ipi"). Everything is the same now. (Bastos 1976:112.)

The beginning of the theme is marked by the addition of rhythmic claps or foot-stompings (designated by V). There are only small changes in the internal rhythmic structure of the theme as it is repeated several times. No new pitches are added and none of the five original pitches are deleted. The overall duration of the theme does not change. The music does



Example 3. Music of the *uruá* flutes. (Villas Boas 1972: track 1, item 10, "Kuarup with foot beats.")

not really have a clear beginning or end and does not progress towards any kind of stasis or point of repose. The only real contrast is between the clearly marked rhythm of the theme played on the upper flute and the relaxed, unstructured rhythm of the lower flute's melody.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THREE KAMAYURÁ RITUALS

In comparing the *kwarip* ceremony with the *jaqui* and the *taquara* dance, the first task is to make an analytic distinction between the two parts of the *kwarip* ceremony. Victor Turner (1974:185) has pointed out a fundamental dichotomy between localized, ancestral cults tending to represent

crucial power divisions and classificatory distinctions within and among politically discrete groups, while earth and fertility cults represent ritual bond between those groups . . . The first type stresses exclusiveness, the second inclusiveness.

The two parts of the *kwarip* ceremony fit smoothly into Turner's theoretical scheme. On the one hand, the first part of the *kwarip* ceremony is an ancestral cult in which the boundary lines between the sexes as groups and between Kamayurá and outsiders both receive clear demarcation. Thus, the two categories of social relations represented individually in the structurally opposed *jaqui* and *taquara* dance are simultaneously expressed in the first part of the *kwarip* ceremony. On the other hand, the polarization of male-female and insider-outsider relations is collapsed during the second part of the *kwarip* ceremony. Upon completion of the logs' decoration and implantation in the grave site on the village plaza, a messenger leads the men of visiting tribes into the village and women and children come out of seclusion. This transition sets off a process of ritual bonding between the sexes as groups and between the Kamayurá and outsiders. In addition, classificatory distinctions within Kamayurá social organization are also cross-cut during the festive activities of the second day. Successors of the deceased headmen are informally recognized, and both mourners and secluded adolescents are re-incorporated into the public affairs of the village.

The *kwarip* ceremony is held at the beginning of the rainy season, when fish and turtle eggs are the most abundant and new gardens are about to be planted. But since it is only held during years when a prestigious man has died, its timing is a function of both ecological time, like the *jaqui*, and social time, like the *taquara* dance. Thus, the *kwarip* ceremony integrates ecological and social time, separately represented in other ritual contexts.

Figure 1 illustrates the structural parallels in four contextual dimensions of the three rituals. My explanation of the apparent lack of changes in the music of the *uruá* flutes follows directly from the above discussion of social categories and timing. The structurally opposed changes in the music of the *jaqui* and *tarawí* flutes are combined into a single representation in the music of the *uruá* flutes so that they cancel out one another. If two structural processes in binary opposition are simultaneously (as opposed to sequentially) applied in a single musical performance, then the logical result is the total absence of either process. Likewise, the absence of any clear indication of mythical spirits being either invoked or exorcised during the *kwarip* ceremony is a result of the juxtaposition of the structurally opposed sets of mythical beliefs associated with the music of the *jaqui* and *tarawí* flutes.

MUSIC AS META-COMMUNICATION

Taken as a whole, the music of the *jaqui*, *tarawí*, and *uruá* flutes forms a three-tiered, hierarchical system of meta-communication that regulates the interaction of two sets of rules for the interpretation of social, cultural, and temporal categories of experience. The first set of rules differentiates between categories of experience and organizes them into a definite pattern of relations. At the lowest level, this set of rules differentiates within the categories of male-female and insider-outsider

	Jaqui	Kwarip	Taquara
Myth	bringing helpful spirits into village	no spirits invoked or exorcised	driving evil spirits out of village
Music	lengthening of phrases; addition of pitches; jaqui flutes	repetition; no apparent syntactic changes; uruá flutes	shortening of phrases; deletion of pitches; tarawí flutes
Social Relations	polarization of relations between village men and women	integration (ritual bonding) of men and women, Kamamurá and outsiders	polarization of relations between Kamayurá and outsiders
Timing	every year at beginning of dry season (ecological time)	beginning of wet season in years when a prestigious man has died (ecological + social time)	not seasonal, whenever misfortunes occur (social time)

Figure 1. Structural parallels in three Kamayurá rituals.

relations. This structural level corresponds to the *jaqui* and the *taquara* dance taken as isolated performance events that provide models for the sexual division of labor and the opposition between insiders and outsiders in the non-ceremonial, social context of the village. Moving up to the middle level of the hierarchy, the classificatory operation of binary opposition in the music of the *jaqui* and *tarawí* flutes differentiates between the categories of male-female versus insider-outsider relations, helpful versus dangerous mythical spirits, and ecological versus social time. This middle level corresponds to the *jaqui* and the *taquara* dance seen as interdependent parts of a whole system of interrelations in which the basic principle of village endogamy is imbued with cultural meanings. The horizontal lines in Figure 2 are drawn with arrows pointing outwards to indicate the differentiation between categories at either end.

At the highest level of the hierarchy, the juxtaposition of structurally opposed processes in the music of the *uruá* flutes brings into operation a second set of rules for the interpretation of experience. This set of rules integrates conceptual categories by cutting across their boundaries, thereby transforming and regenerating the configuration of interrelations at the middle and bottom levels of the hierarchy. Terence Turner (1977:65) has defined the transformational power of higher-level principles in ritual as

the capacity not only to generate but to transform, negate or transcend and thus to disrupt any particular state or pattern of relations at the lower level.

The music performed on *uruá* flutes during the *kwarip* ceremony expresses the transformational power of higher-level principles as a meta-message that signals the creation of new ritual bonds between categories of social relations, mythical beliefs, and time that are structurally opposed at the lower levels of the hierarchy. The vertical lines in Figure 2 are

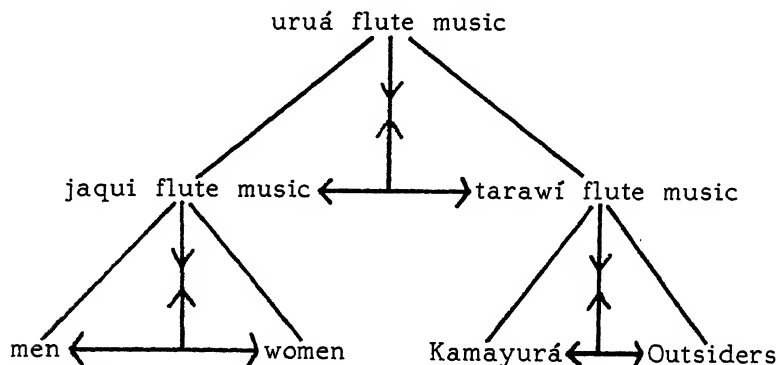


Figure 2. The hierarchical system of meta-communication in Kamayurá flute music.

drawn with arrows pointing inwards to indicate the integration of categories that are differentiated at lower levels.

This analysis of Kamayurá flute music as meta-communication is a particular case of the more general problem of how musical performances or other structured symbolic processes can serve to regulate the balance between differentiating and integrative rules of interpretation in small-scale societies. In *Totemism*, Lévi-Strauss addresses the same general problem, "viz., how to make opposition, instead of being an obstacle to integration, serve rather to produce it" (1963b:89). If conceptual categories are reified, they become obstacles rather than a means to understanding and control of reality. Kamayurá flute music provides a concrete meta-symbolic code that serves not only to redefine conceptual categories but also to ensure that the boundary lines between them do not become so rigid that they cannot be crossed. I think that similar coding systems can be found in the music of other small-scale societies. In concluding, I would urge fieldworkers to collect sufficient data on a number of performance contexts within a single, non-ceremonial social context to make the analysis of other musical coding systems possible for comparative studies.

NOTES

1. For an extensive account of the *uluki* (trade) ceremony, see Basso (1973) or Dole (1956/58). The *uluki* ceremony is initiated by a tribe that has a surplus of ritual valuables, either material or non-material (e.g., songs or incantations). In essence, the ceremony is similar to a Kwakiutl *potlach* in which each group tries to shame the other with displays of generosity. The Xingu ceremony is more individualized, however, with each adult male having specific trading partners among the guest tribe. In this sense, the *uluki* ceremony is more like the Trobrianders' *kula* ring than the kwakiutl *potlach*.

2. All quotations from sources in Portuguese (Agostinho, Bastos, Santos, Viertler) are my own translations.

3. The tribes referred to here as outsiders are the so-called "friendly" groups allied to the Kamayurá through reciprocal trade, mutual protection in warfare, and sometimes marriage. However, "friendly" tribes are also seen as the main source of witchcraft and sorcery (therefore of illness, misfortune, and even death). At present the following tribes are classified as "friendly" by the Kamayurá: Auetí, Kuikúru, Kalapalo, Matipú, Nafuquá, Waurá, Meináco, Iaulipití, and Trumai. "Hostile" tribes are enemies in warfare, are not considered a threat through witchcraft, and "are not allied with or related in a normal way to the culture area of the headwaters of the Xingu" (Villas Boas 1970:32). Recent history of contacts between "friendly" and "hostile" tribes is full of hair-raising stories about attacks and counterattacks (ibid.:32-45). The most threatening enemy tribes for the Kamayurá include the Suíá, Txukarramãe, Txikão, and Juruna.

4. Marriages between members of different tribes do take place, but only as a last resort. When all of the young women in the village have been promised by their parents to older men, young men are forced to marry outsiders unless they can stand to wait for several years. Only intratribal, intravillage marriages are considered to be pure, for outsiders are believed to practice witchcraft and sorcery. Thus, village endogamy is an ideal cultural rule, but it is not always possible to carry out in practice. The gap between ideology and practice

has widened in recent years as a result of depopulation and social changes through contact with non-Indian Brazilians.

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- _____, volume six: Walter Roland 1933–1935—"take your big legs off" [1933–35]. Series edited and produced by Francis Smith. Mono. Magpie PY4406. 1978. Jacket notes by Bob Hall and Richard Noble, foreword by F. Smith. Also includes Jolly Jivers and Lucille Bogan.
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BOOK REVIEWS

Card, Caroline, et al., eds. *Discourse in Ethnomusicology: Essays in Honor of George List*. Bloomington: Ethnomusicology Publications Group, Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana Univ., 1978. xii, 299 p., diagrams, transcriptions, photo.

Former students and colleagues of George List have produced a cohesive collection of fourteen essays grouped around four general themes: archiving recorded sound, theory and epistemology, methodology and technique, and American studies. List, the inspiration for this collection, clearly follows in the great tradition of German-American ethnomusicological archivists: from Stumpf, Abraham, and von Hornbostel who built up the Berlin Archive until he fled from Germany in 1933, to Herzog who founded the Columbia Archive and then moved it to Indiana in 1948. List became the director of the Archives of Traditional Music in 1954 and remained in that position until his retirement in 1976. He has worked with it all—from Edison cylinders and aluminum discs to the highly developed recording technology of today—and has created an invaluable resource to the field of ethnomusicology.

We learn more of who George List is in his unpretentious, folksy, and sometimes feisty interview with Louise Spear, assistant director of the Archives of Traditional Music. As his story unfolds, the archivist emerges as a kind of international culture hero protecting rare and beautiful recordings, the shepherd of otherwise lost sheep.

The next essay, "The Tyranny of Thought: a Brief Polemic in the Tradition of George List," by Nahoma Sachs, raises the issue of ethnocentrism in ethnomusicological thought, which she views as an outgrowth of the acceptance of the Cartesian paradigm accentuating the value of cognition. Her solution to this "tyranny of thought" is "... to begin the arduous search for ontologies, epistemologies, theories, and methodologies which will lead us to a cultural relativism which takes account of both individual and cultural diversity of mind as they apply to the cross-cultural study of music,"—new tyrannies of new thoughts? I was disappointed that she didn't refer to the work of Blacking, Baily, et al. with their approaches to an anthropology of the body, or to studies of brain hemisphericity, or to the work of Nattiez, Boilès, et al. on semiology. She could have travelled further.

The four essays that follow on field recording, transcription, and analysis are the nuts and bolts of a List-oriented technical education. Caroline Card's excellent "Some Problems of Field Recording for Research Purposes," spiced with insightful anecdotes from her work in Niger and Algeria, examines the effect of the ethnomusicologist's presence on the performers and audience and that of the ethnomusicologist's own subjectivity on the "objective" data. Ruth Stone's "Motion Film as an Aid in Transcription and Analysis of Music" is a fascinating and readable technical account that discusses the work of List and Gerhard Kubik and their use of frame by frame analysis of fast tempo percussion performance as a primary transcription tool. Judith McCulloh's "What is 'the Tune'?" poses the

problem of how to select the unit of analysis or "basic tune" in multi-versed Anglo-American folk song. Phyllis May and Roberta Singer each tackle the thorny issue of "Philosophical Approaches to Transcription" in similar essays that reflect List's teaching as would any "A" paper of a dutiful student.

The final seven essays are descriptive of various genres of music in the Americas and are important reading for ethnomusicologists whose interests lie in acculturation, sociology, or performance event studies of music in the New World from its roots in Europe and Africa. Frank Gillis, current director of the Archives of Traditional Music, follows "The Metamorphosis of a Derbyshire Ballad into a New World Jazz Tune" through its multiple incarnations, "... from a medieval ritual ballad into a brass band funeral piece." John Hasse's, "The Study of Ragtime: a Review and Preview," is an excellently annotated historical study of the literature relating to ragtime. Paula Tadlock's informative field study "Shape-Note Singing in Mississippi," describes the contemporary performance and teaching practice of this "literate folk tradition" among black and white communities.

"If You Don't Play Good They Take the Drums Away": Performance, Communication and Acts in *Guaguancó*," Robert Friedman's subjective description of an Afro-Cuban performance event, is a study of communicating through signs and cues. A significant difficulty with this otherwise informative essay was Friedman's failure to delineate his observation and interpretation from that of the Puerto Rican or Cuban community whose specific sociological character is never identified. Abraham Cáceres's enlightening "Preliminary Comments on the Marimba in the Americas," is a diffusion and performance event study in organology based on a comparison of Guatemalan and Colombo-Ecuadorian marimba traditions. Barbara Seitz, in "The Mexican *Corrido*," presents an historical study and thematic analysis of this important *mestizo* ballad genre. Robert Fogal's "Traditional Music and the Middle Class in Argentina: Context and Currents," is a sociological account of developments that led to the folk music boom in the 1960's. Finally, the book concludes with a comprehensive bibliography, discography, and filmography of George List by John Hasse.

This volume of essays honors George List by presenting various aspects of ethnomusicology of central interest to him. With few exceptions, these essays are of interest to any ethnomusicologist concerned with issues relating to archiving, transcription, field methods, and American studies.

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Crump, J. I. and William P. Malm, eds. *Chinese and Japanese Music-Dramas*. Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies, No. 19. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, Univ. of Michigan, 1975. 234 p.

As scholars we are becoming resigned to what is now, for most of us, that one opportunity each year when we renew and regenerate ourselves in the company of our own species. At these annual meetings the need to communicate so much with so many leaves us talking in dreamy tones about what it might be like to meet with a small group of beings with similar interests and to pursue a single idea and have it augmented and modified by others who may also have given it thought. Such opportunities do occur from time to time but without the frequency enjoyed by our

colleagues in the sciences. Certainly, anyone who has participated in a small gathering of experts knows the keen sense of excitement generated by the discovery of missing fragments of one's own puzzles, new ideas that take shape as thoughts pass around the room, or of the sense of pleasure felt when one has been able to help fit another's puzzle piece into place.

I believe that ethnomusicology has been handicapped by not having such opportunities more readily available to us. Perhaps ethnomusicology meetings produce results far too intangible and unquantifiable for holders of the purses to want to invest in gatherings of such exotics. As a participant in a few of these conferences, I have usually felt that the published results never seem to catch the vitality of the actual moment. The papers never seem as integrally related as they did when we all sat around in a room together. If the discussions are omitted from the published results, we suspect that the best of the meeting was in the dialog that came as a result of the papers. But either verbatim or summarized discussions in print seem inane or stilted.

The publication of the papers from the Conference on Chinese and Japanese Music-Dramas is just such a case. Here are a number of papers related only generally by their connection with Chinese and Japanese drama. None of the papers actually deals with the relationships between the two cultural traditions except for Carl Sesar's "China vs. Japan: The Noh Play *Haku Rakuten*." But Sesar's paper actually concerns how China is viewed in the Japanese Noh drama. Each paper in the published version is followed by a transcription of the ensuing discussion.

The papers themselves are all scholarly, thorough, and focus on the particular topic of the writer's interest. However, Malm's paper, "The Musical Characteristics and Practice of the Japanese Noh Drama in an East Asian Context," seems to have all of these qualities and yet manages to place his subject in a broader context and thus perhaps to provide a means of linking his subject to the others. The papers are each in their own way informative and often fascinating. The discussions have a natural tendency, when they are read away from the context of the actual conference room where they occurred, to fluctuate between flashes of insight and groping for missing pieces of information that make the reader wish he could join the discussion for a moment and perhaps help to re-establish a line of communication. The criticism voiced here is neither of the content of the papers nor of the discussions, rather it is the question of the effectiveness of this form of dissemination for an exploratory conference. Clearly, it was an opportunity for a group of specialists in somewhat related areas of interest to come together and discover areas in the development of these forms that might be parallel, related, or contrastive. The papers were intended as starting points for the stimulation of ideas in these areas of mutual interest. One almost senses that now, after this conference, the participants are ready to undertake a conference focussing on the interrelatedness of these forms and a consideration of the reasons for their apparent differences. The further pursuit of these ideas, more closely interrelated, would, indeed, be most welcome. More than the individual, factual expositions and the important information that appears in the discussions, it is the accumulated perception and insights gained by this group of experts that so strongly suggests another such gathering might well produce results unattainable by any other means.

Dumont, Jean-Paul. *The Headman and I: Ambiguity and Ambivalence in the Fieldworking Experience*. Austin: The Univ. of Texas Press, 1978. 200 p., 6 p. bibliog., 5 p. index, charts, illus. \$12.95.

The intent of this book is to consider the interaction between an anthropologist and his subjects, that is, to investigate the development of an intercultural encounter. This is not an ethnography; the author's 1976 publication provides a highly readable ethnography of Panare culture and a useful (though not necessary) adjunct to the volume being reviewed.

Dumont traces his intellectual growth and frustration during his field research among the Panare Indians of Venezuelan Guiana. He attempts an inquiry into the changing "who am I, the anthropologist?"; "who are they, the Panare?"; and "what is the relationship between us?" In the three chapters of Part I, "Entering the Field," Dumont's approach to fieldwork, his first meetings with the Panare, and the reactions of the Panare, the Creole intermediaries, and the fieldworker himself are presented through descriptions and analyses of actual events. The anthropologist finally acquires existence for the Panare when his originally joking adoption allows for his categorization as a social identity, although its maintenance may be ambiguous.

This leads into Part II, "Social Insertion," a four-chapter discussion of Panare social relations, which may appear rather complex to some ethnomusicologists. The kinship charts and their varying forms are not, however the main interest to ethnomusicologists or to the author; rather, Dumont is concerned with ambiguous and contradictory explanations, with conflicts between the informant-investigator relationship and the emerging, more subjective involvements—issues familiar to all fieldworkers.

The three chapters of Part III, "Cross-Ethnic Transactions," focus on the relationships of Panare with the outside world, with Creoles as well as with such representatives of Venezuelan society as government agents and missionaries. In addition, Dumont discusses the varying resistance to or acceptance of culture change imposed by these outside forces affecting the Panare, as well as the Panare reaction to the anthropologist seen as a member of Western culture.

For the ethnomusicologist, *The Headman and I* may appear somewhat bare of interesting material on music or musicians. However, a careful reading will provide the researcher with a stimulating exposition of the process of one anthropologist's confrontation with reality and his efforts to make theoretical sense from highly ambiguous data, problems constantly faced by fieldworkers in ethnomusicology. We can also appreciate Dumont's successful effort to maintain the individuality of his subjects. The Panare do not become a mass mentality; generalizations arise from—and return to—specific individuals in particular circumstances.

The field of ethnomusicology lacks such a philosophical, subjective treatise; in fact, ethnomusicologists have seemingly found it difficult to admit to or discuss in depth their own developing participation in fieldwork, much less that of individual subjects (see Gourlay 1978). Although there is technical material available to the ethnomusicologist and a great deal of evidence on the existence of dilemmas in fieldwork in ethnomusicology and anthropology, *The Headman and I* is one of the most effective of the few publications that illustrate the retention of the researcher and the subjects of research as living, thinking, changing individuals.

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Gottlieb, Robert. *The Major Traditions of North Indian Tabla Drumming*. München: Musikverlag Katzbichler, 1977. viii, 205 p. text, 223 p. transcriptions, bibliog., glossary, photos, 2 cassettes. DM 150.-

Robert Gottlieb's interest in materials that introduce the *tablā* to Westerners has resulted in two well documented records and now a book with cassette recordings. The book aims to give a "representative survey of the major traditions of solo *tablā* drumming" (p. vii) with transcribed recordings of Ustad Inam Ali Khan, Ustad Keramatullah Khan, Ustad Wazid Hussain, Pandit Kishan Maharaj, Ustad Habibuddin Khan, and Ustad Alla Rakha of the Delhi, Farukhabad, Lucknow, Benares, Ajrada, and Punjab traditions, respectively. Gottlieb's intention is to provide a basis for a "comparative study" (p. viii) of *tablā* style (*bāj*) as performed by the principal family traditions (*gharāne*). Although this study is not a detailed stylistic comparison, it is a careful examination of the individual styles of these exponents as expressed in these performances.

The transcriptions are generally accurate, although several omissions can be noted. There are no tempo markings, although tempo is an extremely important factor in a performer's selection of material. A traditional omission, which Gottlieb maintains, is of the *ṭhekā* (a stylized time-keeping composition embodying characteristic features of the *tāl*). Since not one of the performers ever plays the simple *tīn tāl ṭhekā* included in the back of the book, it would have been of interest to compare performances of it. A noticeable omission of performed material occurs in Inam Ali Khan's first *qā'idā*, between parts one and two, in which a version of the *qā'idā* is played but not notated.

Although most of the theory and terminology in this book has already been discussed by others, Gottlieb offers a convenient compilation. It has been published but inadequately described (Goswami 1957), thoroughly probed but unpublished (Stewart 1974), or published and well discussed but in a South Asian language (Sharma 1973). Nevertheless, Gottlieb's information must be read carefully. Statements such as "*tintal* is perceived as an asymmetrical [*sic*] rhythmic pattern" (p. 38) must be read as the author's opinion and not as an established part of *tāl* theory. He often neglects to name sources; for example, when he gives the duration of a *mātrā* (beat) in various *lays* (tempo/subdivision) in seconds or the names of the divisions of *lay*. Sometimes, his wording is inaccurate or misleading, as when he describes the sound of the stroke *tā* as the "fundamental pitch" (p. 21). The stroke has an important musical quality, being tuned to the principal drone note, but it is acoustically a partial (see Murphy 1965).

Perhaps the most important aspect of the work, along with the performances

and transcriptions, is the analysis. Part of the analysis follows a straightforward identification and explanation of the standard compositional units such as *mohrā*, *dohrā*, and *tihāi*. The other part takes a fairly radical approach to examining improvisational development in *tablā* performance. Gottlieb suggests that a basic composition, such as a *qā'idā*, can be perceived as a string of isolatable motifs, which are systematically developed in much the way North Indian classical singers follow *svarprastār* (see Jairazbhoy 1961). This development can be direct, from the first to the last motif, but more often he shows it to follow a subtle route, sometimes starting with internal motifs and backtracking to the first before progressing. His analysis of this technique, as employed in the recorded performances that accompany the work, is thorough, although his conciseness sometimes hampers easy comprehension. A further complication is added by discrepancies between Gottlieb's page references and the numbers on the pages to which he refers. This can be remedied by adding two page numbers to references for the first two performances, three for the third, and four for the last three.

The Major Traditions of North Indian Tabla Drumming, despite difficulties, is certainly the most detailed English publication on the subject. The work will hopefully entice scholars to examine *tablā* performance and *tāl* more closely.

Univ. of California, Los Angeles

Gordon R. Thompson

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Lamas, Dulce Martins. *Pastorinhas, Pastoris, Présepios e Lapinhas*. Rio de Janeiro: Gráfica Olímpica Editora LTDA, 1978. 172 p., music, illustrations (18), songs (74), Portuguese.

The purpose of this study, as stated by the author at the close of her introductory chapter, is to describe "two groups of 'Pastorinhas' . . . attempting to compare them, whenever possible, with other celebrations performed with the same motivation in other cultural areas of Brazil" (p. 33). These "Pastorinhas" or, roughly translated, Christmas "shepherds' plays," include the "Pastorinhas do Egito" of the Morro de São Carlos, which is performed in the context of urban Rio

de Janeiro, and the "Pastorinhas de Itacuruçá" of the tiny fishing village of Itacuruçá, Ex-Estado do Rio. Later in the book, performances of a "Pastoril" from Itapissunga, Pernambuco and a "Reisado" from Aracajú, Sergipe, are described and compared in cursory fashion with the above-mentioned "pastorinhas" of southeastern Brazil.

The attention of the book is focused more upon the description of certain aspects of contemporary Brazilian folk drama than any more specifically ethnomusicological matters. As such, each of the four cultural performances dealt with is described with respect to its cast of characters and the story line these characters dramatize. Song texts are included in order of their performance, together with musical transcriptions of their basic melodic lines. No attention is given, unfortunately, to the musical accompaniment provided by the associated instrumental ensembles, though the name of each instrument is listed.

Choreographic description is similarly incomplete. Though general information in the form of stage directions is provided, indicating where a particular character sings which songs, for example, there is no information concerning the nature of the dance steps that accompany his movement to that location. In the description of the "Pastorinhas de Itacuruçá," for instance, we are given very little idea as to what the dance actually looks like. We are told the dancing "becomes more energetic" (p. 88), that the "Velho" ("Old Man") and the "Camponeza" ("Peasant Girl") dance together" (p. 91), or that the "Caçador" ("Hunter") reaches the center "using the regular movements" (p. 105), but we never get a more detailed description of the characteristic choreography than the passage in which the "Borboleta" ("Butterfly") is said to "leave her place with her hands on her hips . . . singing her part slowly, attempting to express herself with her body according to the sense of the accompanying texts" (p. 85).

Of particular interest is the author's explanation that neither the "Pastorinhas do Egito" nor the "Pastorinhas de Itacuruçá" has been performed since 1965 and 1966, respectively, due to lack of public support. She later notes that the analogous folk dramas of northeastern Brazil, the "Reisados," as performed today, may "be considered good examples of the breakdown of the 'Bailes Pastoris'" described by such scholars of the 1940's and 1950's as Carlos Ott, Sílvia Romero, and Melo Moraes Filho (p. 159). This "degeneration" has occurred to such an extent that where the colors of the two traditional factions central to the dramatization—the "Córdão Azul" and the "Córdão Encarnado" (the "Blue File" and the "Red File")—once symbolic of the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ, are today "representative of the two most prestigious soccer teams of the city" (p. 165). Finally, the author expresses her dismay that in the urban centers of the Brazilian northeast, the term "Pastoril" itself has become associated with "a kind of celebration, entirely profane, that, while enacted during the Christmas season, is performed by people of the lowest social and moral status . . . and often comes to a close with fighting, deaths, and police intervention" (p. 136). Earlier (p. 30), Lamas noted that these "profane spectacles" often featured the participation of "near-naked women dancing to the most sensual and provocative rhythms, singing pornographic songs and telling indecent jokes." While a detailed investigation into the socio-cultural causes of this profound disruption of the continued reenactment of this once highly esteemed folk tradition might have provided a fruitful field of study for the interested "urban ethnomusicologist," this information here serves only to partially explain that the most recent of the author's data was collected in 1968, a full decade before having reached publication.

As this study was not undertaken from an ethnomusicological perspective, then, it must not be evaluated as such. While its 74 melodic transcriptions and 18 photographs were collected from three non-specialists attending a class given by the author at the Conservatório Brasileiro de Música in 1964, they may collectively provide the basis for a more intensive study of such phenomena. Not until the final two pages of the book (p. 171-2) does the author make the ethnomusicologically significant observation that there is a great deal of musical and textual heterogeneity inherent within each of the four performances studied. She notes that while some of the musical or textual materials may be traced to medieval poets, others are the creations of known contemporary artists, while still others appear to have roots in regional folk traditions. Thus, it appears that for the ethnomusicologist interested in the diachronic study of musical folklore as a living, ever-changing process—particularly in the context of a developing urban society—a good point at which to take up the study of the Brazilian “Pastorinha” is precisely where Dulce Martins Lamas leaves off.

Univ. of Texas, Austin

William J. Gradante

Neptune, John Kaizan. *Shakuhachi*. Published by the author, 2-10-12 Kayayama, Niiza-shi, Saitama-ken, Japan 352, 1978. 67 p. & Cassette.

The ethnomusicologist is customarily cast in the role of observer and recorder; for him to become a recognized leading virtuoso of the instrument he is studying is most unusual. John Kaizan Neptune enjoys this distinction and it should occasion no surprise that his Shakuhachi method is of unusual interest and merit.

When Neptune took up the study of the Shakuhachi in 1971 he brought to it a professional musical background that included the trumpet, baritone horn, and drums. During succeeding years he travelled to Japan and received the Shihan (Master Teacher) degree from the Tozan-ryu (as well as his professional name—Kaizan) and graduated from the University of Hawaii in Ethnomusicology. He presently resides in Tokyo with his wife, playing, studying, and teaching the Shakuhachi and composing for it—including pieces especially commissioned for TV and theatre combining the Shakuhachi with other ethnic instruments.

Neptune has brought to the Shakuhachi a variety of new techniques, which have propelled him to the forefront of virtuoso performers, bringing to the fingering of the instrument the rhythmic cadences that a professional drummer commands and breaking new ground in exploiting that most flexible of all flute embouchements, the Shakuhachi *uta-guchi*. These new capabilities of the instrument are being systematically explored in Neptune's compositions. A series of records devoted to these is planned.

His Shakuhachi method does not, of course, scale these heights. It does give the student a very thorough grounding in the basics of the instrument using the notation of the Tozan-ryu—a notation unquestionably more logical and suitable for the student than the more familiar Kinko-ryu notation. Neptune has gone to particular pains to offer a series of graded exercises—comprising pieces composed specifically for this purpose as well as traditional Japanese melodies—in order to develop the student's command of the instrument systematically. The accompanying cassette is invaluable in that it gives the student a clear picture of what he is

trying to accomplish. A remarkably complete fingering chart is included, demonstrating the full three-octave range of the instrument—a range which few, other than the author, will successfully command.

To anyone interested in the Shakuhachi, whether as an instrument of Zen meditation or as the most flexible member of the flute family, Neptune's Shakuhachi method and cassette will prove of enormous interest.

London and Aspen

Dan E. Mayers

Nersessian, Vrej, ed. *Essays on Armenian Music*. London: Kahn & Averill, 1978, 222 p., tables, music illus. £6.95

Armenian music is a subject that has been of interest to scholars in the West only superficially. The few publications by European experts are mostly outdated, and others by Armenian ethnomusicologists are largely inaccessible due to language.

Essays on Armenian Music is a collection of seven articles—four in German, two in French and one in English—photographically reproduced from previous publications. Abstracts of all the articles in foreign languages are included in English, with one exception, as well as an introduction by the editor, Vrej Nersessian, head of the Armenian section in the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books at the British Library in London.

This work should be of interest to the student of Middle Eastern music, because two important topics concerning the rich musical heritage of Armenian civilization are analyzed and discussed: the nature of ekphonic notation and the structure of octoechos. In "Armenische Chasen," Atajan traces the evolution of ekphonic notation, employed by Armenians, from its initial form—simple signs calling for special inflections to manifest grammatical idiosyncrasies—to its later stages of development, elaborate patterns whose exact nature is not entirely clear. In another article, "Die Armenische Professionelle Liederkunst des Mittelalters," he discusses various musical structures used by Armenian professional musicians between the fifth and twelfth centuries and analyzes the architectonic design of these forms. In still another essay, "Elemente der Mehrstimmigkeit in der Armenischen Volksmusik," Atajan examines elements of polyphony in Armenian folk music and shows various modes of its popular usage through music examples.

An article by Serkoyan, Tahmizian, and Outtier, "Recherches sur la genèse de l'octoéchos arménien," describes the eight melody-types used in the Hymnal and the Psalmbook of the Armenian Apostolic Church. In "Les anciens manuscrits musicaux arméniens et les questions relatives à leur déchiffrement," by Tahmizian, the contents of various religious manuscripts of the Middle Ages are examined, the ekphonic signs employed in these documents discussed and their development throughout the centuries traced. "Komitas Vardapet and His Contribution to Ethnomusicology," by Poladian, is a translated summary of an essay by Komitas. Perhaps the most outstanding Armenian scholar in the field of music, Komitas describes the peasants' actual creation of folk songs. In the last article in this collection, "Monodische Denkmäler Alt-Armeniens," Tahmizian analyzes the monophonic masterpieces of ancient Armenian sacred music and discusses the modes of chanting in Armenian Psalmody.

Since The Institute of Armenian Music, the sponsor of *Essays on Armenian Music*, plans to bring out other similar publications, it is useful to focus on editorial details rather than on the articles themselves, which, in general, are scholarly. It is important in a collection of this kind to create a uniformity of stylistic elements, to avoid confusion and doubt, and achieve clarity and precision. It is also essential to have a specific editorial viewpoint to ensure continuity and structural balance within the framework of the entire book. However, more serious are matters involving content: interchangeable use of the terms "neume" and "ekphonetic signs," which are not synonymous; incorrect translation, such as "Les anciens manuscrits musicaux arméniens et les questions relatives à leur déchiffrement" to "Ancient Manuscripts and the Decipherment of Khazes" rather than "Ancient Armenian Music Manuscripts and Questions Related to Their Decipherment"; inaccurate summaries of articles, e.g., the abstract to Atajan's "Elemente der Mehrstimmigkeit in der Armenischen Volksmusik," which is completely unrelated to the subject matter; and, wrong usage of the English language, such as "neumatic research" rather than research in neumatic notation, and "professional music" instead of music by professionals. Such points require careful attention and scrupulous editing. Finally, the compilation of articles in several languages in a book is not only impractical but frustrating to many readers.

Essays on Armenian Music is elegantly bound and contains reproductions of several historic manuscripts. One hopes this collection will arouse the interest of other scholars, so that similar publications will follow. This work makes available, in one volume, articles that otherwise might not be easily accessible.

New York City

Şahan Arzruni

Royce, Anya Peterson. *The Anthropology of Dance*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1977. xvi, 238 p., index, notes, bibliog. \$15.00.

Scholarly treatments of the dance have always been problematic subjects for British and North American anthropologists alike. For a start, on both sides of the Atlantic, it is a shared popular and academic myth that definitive works on the subject already exist; that somewhere we can find cogent theoretical, historical, and practical statements concerning dancing and its relation (or non-relation) to other aspects of social structures, to human evolution, or to the relative importance of the dance considered as one cultural phenomenon among others. The many frustrations and tensions generated by often uneasy co-existence and ambiguous correlations between scholarly and artistic interests that have marked, e.g., the rise and development of every dance department in the United States since 1918 are ignored by most writers and commentators. Serious interdisciplinary conflicts are verbally glossed as "political in-fighting" or "pettiness"—or so the arguments run.

Instead, we are now offered a vague myth of consensus: a kind of rosy picture of a new sub-discipline (i.e., an "anthropology of dance"), which will somehow be richer and more purposeful than either of its parent disciplines—straight social or cultural anthropology or "the dance" alone. We are invited to imagine a comparatively conflict-free academic pursuit, meant to lead aspiring students to advanced degrees and professional legitimation, where a sense of mission must lead to better

and more ideal things than any that have preceded it. So it is that the underlying consensual evaluation of Royce's recent book seems to absorb all the theoretical, historical, and practical ills of social and cultural anthropology and the dance into a vision of "programs" where past and present needs will find comfort in future profusion. "*Satis superque*"—if we can relinquish our doubt, our skepticism, and believe that (p. 178):

The anthropology of dance, more so even than other subareas [*sic*] of anthropology, has both means and background to make statements founded on research without aesthetics and creativity as they apply to dance. That we have not yet done so is simply because we need to have the tools of structural analysis [according to Lévi-Strauss or Radcliffe-Brown?] applied and tested. Knowing now that structural analysis is possible and having several good examples of it, we may use it as it should be used, as a tool, as a means to an end.

On the whole, myths of consensus are fairly untrustworthy. There is a sense in which they tend to shortchange historiographies, whether of the Social or Biological Sciences, Philosophy, Aesthetics, or Education. These are still the disciplines upon which the dance depends for its intellectual claims to existence in a University setting. Few would disagree that the dance, seen as including all the dances of humanity, forms an impressive and interesting data-base. All of the theoretical and intellectual difficulties arise, however, when we begin to consider how these data are to be handled.

Royce seems to recognize the general problem but her answers are fundamentally unsatisfactory. The fact that she offers an answer makes *The Anthropology of Dance* less a textbook on Anthropology or Dance (which it is evidently meant to be) than a personalized extension of her own ethnography. Excellent though the ethnography is (see, e.g., p. 15–16; 27–31; 108–31; 140–53), what are students—or any of us—to do with it? It is possible, through ethnography, to unravel, clarify, or introduce various kinds of theoretical and practical problems (viz. Needham 1973), but there is an important difference between Needham's approach and Royce's use of ethnography as an implied model for research to be copied by others who have no background in anthropology themselves.

Presumably this book is meant to form the basis for courses of "dance anthropology" or "dance ethnology" in departments of dance, but here we encounter a major source of confusion: to my knowledge, there is no "anthropology of dance" as a "sub-field" or "sub-area" of anthropology. True, there are at this writing six or eight persons who have had long experience with dancing of numerous kinds who are fully qualified in anthropology to a Doctoral level, of which Anya Royce is one. For most of us, the anthropology of dance is a personal specialization, just as sports, ritual or ceremony, cooking or weaving might represent personal specializations. Along these lines we could imagine an anthropology of speaking, or of hundreds of other things that represent specific bodies of data. These personal interests are not, however, "sub-disciplines" as, for example, the anthropology of religion, politics, economics, ecology, and such. The distinction consists of the fact that a specialization is data-oriented; a sub-discipline is idea-oriented.

Although Royce tells us that "The field [of anthropology of dance] has grown beyond the stage where each new scholar essentially reinvents it in isolation, unaware of those few others with similar interests" (p. 217), it would seem that the major intent of her book is precisely to re-invent, if not anthropology itself, then this "new field" in anthropology. It is an ambitious undertaking. In my view, one

too ambitious to emerge triumphant over myriad real difficulties of which "those few" of us with similar interests are all too aware. It is with genuine regret therefore, that one cannot fully appreciate the fresh brevity and simplicity with which Royce handles complexities like the definitional problem (Chapter 1), systems of writing movement (Chapter 2), or "foundations for future directions in research" (Chapter 4), and much more. It seems odd, too, in the context of modern social science, that 230 pages of text can be produced by an acknowledged expert in which there are no unfavorable comments about any theory or method expounded by any author. Even Curt Sachs is quoted with approval and the choreometrics project is rated "excellent." Apparently, enough "collegiality" now exists among dance specialists that our disagreements are masked. Do we not thus lead the untutored to believe by this that all ideas are equal and equally valid?

It is also with regret that one has to draw attention to a major methodological fallacy to which every social science has at some time fallen heir: the belief that if enough information is "stock-piled" on a basis of systematic techniques of enquiry (i.e., anthropology as a "conceptual tool-bag"), the whole enterprise will in future yield "truth" or, failing that, sound theories. Neither truth nor theory is a product of data collection, no matter how well gathered or described. It therefore seems reasonable to protest when we are told: "Now that our techniques for collecting data are more or less adequate to the task, we must apply them and ourselves to the end of filling this gap [of a lack of good descriptive studies]. Good description is ultimately the foundation for all else we might wish to do" (p. 217). In spite of a weak disclaimer, the impression given is that data collection is an end in itself.

What can one say when a honored colleague offers an *entrée* of treacle tart in place of a meat course? *The Anthropology of Dance* is a nice book, written for nice people with nice students who wish to give—and receive—good impressions; who want above all to "please," but one wonders through it all how much real interest there is in the pursuit of knowledge or truth.

Univ. of Pennsylvania

Drid Williams

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Needham, Rodney

1973 *Right and Left: Essays on Dual Symbolic Classification*. Univ. of Chicago Press.

Shulman, Frank Joseph. *Doctoral Dissertations on China, 1971-1975: A Bibliography of Studies in Western Languages*. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1978. xx, 331 p. \$6.95 paperbound.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about this bibliography is the "phenomenal development" that it documents (p. xi):

Between 1945 and 1970, approximately 2200 dissertations dealing in some way with Chinese affairs were completed in Australia, central and Western Europe, and North America. . . . Nearly as many dissertations have been accepted by institutions of higher learning since then.

Were such a growth rate to continue, within 3 years these institutions would be producing more than 2200 PhD's daily!

The present volume, a sequel to *Doctoral Dissertations on China (1945-1970)* by Shulman and Leonard H. D. Gordon (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1972, now out of print), includes 1802 dissertations arranged by topic. Within each topic the titles are in chronological order. Three indexes allow access via author, institution, or subjects ancillary to main topics. Most entries carry full data on availability, citation of abstract publication, data on subsequent publication in book form, and a brief annotation. The extent of detail and thoroughness of coverage is evidence of Shulman's painstaking care and dedication. A thoughtful touch is inclusion of a chapter on availability of dissertations, giving the policies and proper contacts for major institutions both domestic and foreign.

There are 17 dissertations on music, cross-references to 3 more. Specialists will, of course, find potentially relevant titles listed under other topic headings such as Literature or Anthropology. Shulman has not attempted to provide cross-references or index to material carried within the body of dissertations—this would require full reading of all dissertations listed, a task beyond the scope of a general bibliography. Thus, for example, one cannot tell whether information on music will be found in Richard Strassberg's study of the 17th-century opera *The Peach Blossom Fan* (entry 1029, Drama sub-section, p. 144). One also regrets that MA theses are not included, since they are more difficult to track down yet frequently of value in ethnomusicology. (Hence one is reminded of the need for an updated edition of Gillis and Merriam's bibliography of theses and dissertations.)

In brief, this is an important reference tool, expertly conceived and executed, useful to anyone researching topics in Chinese area studies.

Univ. of Washington

Fredric Lieberman

BRIEFLY MENTIONED

George, Luvenia A. *Teaching the Music of Six Different Cultures in the Modern Secondary School*. West Nyack, New York: Parker Publishing Company, 1976.

This book is clearly intended to fill the void of materials on ethnic music for use in the secondary school. African, Black American, American Indian, Jewish, Hawaiian, Mexican, and Puerto Rican cultures and their music are presented in the book in a simple and fairly undistorted manner. There is a list of film distributors, record manufacturers, and other resources for classroom use. This is probably one of the better books of its kind to come along in recent years, and should be a valuable resource for anyone attempting to introduce ethnic music in the secondary school setting. (M.H.)

Kaeppler, Adrienne L., ed. *CORD Dance Research Annual VII, Reflections and Perspectives on Two Anthropological Studies of Dance*. New York: Committee on Research in Dance, 1976.

Adrienne Kaeppler is one of those individuals who always produces good work, and this publication is no exception; however, its main utility is to those interested in the history and development of dance ethnography, rather than to current or projective theoretical approaches. (M.H.)

Lidov, David. *On Musical Phrase*. Monographies de sémiologie et d'analyses musicales. Montréal: Groupe de Recherches en Sémiologie Musicale, Faculté de Musique, Université de Montréal, 1975. 4 papers, 99 p., music.

This monograph series was undertaken to provide an outlet for serious analyses, mostly semiological, which were either too long or too involved for publication elsewhere. Lidov's monograph, while addressing Western music, raises several questions of value to anyone attempting to identify and deal with supra-segmental bits of musical information. (M.H.)

Podnos, Theodor H. *Bagpipes and Tunings*. Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1974. 105 p., 20 p. photos, drawings, charts, music, tunings, bibliog., index, bagpipe name index. \$9.50.

This book clearly deserves more thorough and more specialized treatment; however, international mails have conspired to prevent its review by an expert. While there are numerous publications concerning particular musical instruments, books on bagpipes are rare. This one is of special value because it reflects the author's concern with tunings and their implications. This concern ultimately raises more questions than it answers, and may well serve as an impetus to further study of a comparative and of a specific nature. (M.H.)

Rabin, Carol P. *A Guide to Music Festivals in America*. Stockbridge, Massachusetts: The Berkshire Traveller Press, 1979. 199 p., pen-and-ink sketches, index, suggested reading list. \$4.95

As more and more professors assign their students the task of finding and observing music first-hand, we desperately need more sources of musical performance where the tyro will be both welcome and unobtrusive. Rabin's book provides a valuable resource for anyone interested in attending some of the wide range of music festivals in the U.S. More than 120 festivals are listed here, according to category: folk, bluegrass, country, pops, jazz, and classical formats are included. This is an economical alternative to the more comprehensive, and more expensive, publications of this kind now on the market. (M.H.)

RECORD REVIEWS

Polyphonies des Îles Salomon (Guadalcanal et Savo) (Collection Musée de l'Homme). Recordings by Hugo Zemp. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1978. Le Chant du Monde LDX 74 663. Stereo-mono. Jacket notes in French and English, map, photos.

Zemp's tenth record from the Solomon Islands (see References Cited) and his first available in stereo presents recordings from two adjacent Melanesian Islands centrally located in the archipelago: Guadalcanal (Side A), with the capital city Honiara, is the largest island of the Solomons and has 35,000 inhabitants; and Savo (Side B), lying 12 miles north of Guadalcanal, is only four miles in diameter with a population of 1500. A previous record by Zemp from Guadalcanal (1973b) contains music of two groups of people east of Honiara: one from the mountains and one from the north coast; the current recordings were made by a people west of Honiara, from a valley in the Honiara region. Although the music is still in use, it was performed especially for these recordings.

Printed on a three-panel record jacket are the commentary, a cover photograph in color, four black and white photos, a map, and stroboscope diagrams showing the scales and intervals of the four panpipes in the ensemble (these diagrams may be compared to those of the instruments on Zemp 1973b). Singers are named, but no texts for the songs are given. The stereophonic recordings, flawless in quality, permit clear separation of voices.

Of the 19 pieces, 14 are vocal and five played by a Guadalcanal panpipe ensemble (Savo has vocal music only). Musical genres appearing on both this record and the earlier Guadalcanal disc are women's *rope* songs, *silaru* sitting songs, lullabies, and panpipe ensembles. There is overlapping of song types on Guadalcanal and Savo, their musics having much in common. Savo people visit the larger neighboring islands and, according to the notes here, both panpipe ensembles from Guadalcanal and *rope* songs from Savo were used on musical tours. Song types present on this record are: *laalaa* (Savo), a song performed by men and women (one song); *vivi* (Savo), a sitting dance for women (two songs); *nyuba nunuli* (Savo), a lullaby in four parts (the lullaby on Zemp 1973b is sung in two parts); *silaru* (Savo), a sitting dance performed here by men and women with rhythmic gasping by the men (two songs); the *silaru* on Zemp 1973b is performed with rhythmic panting by seated men); *rope* women's songs from both Guadalcanal (seven songs) and from Savo (one song) are exemplified (Zemp explains that although *rope* "designates a round rhythmically accompanied by rattles attached to the feet" on both islands, the songs are performed here without dancing; the *rope* on Zemp 1973b are women's dances performed with ankle rattles).

Two characteristics differentiate Guadalcanal panpipe ensembles from those of Malaita Island: double-serial panpipes are used, pipes of the second row being open at the bottom to provide harmonics lacking in the closed tubes, and the drone part is continuous. The Guadalcanal ensembles on both records are played at important traditional festivities and particularly for commemorative funeral feasts. The formation seems to be similar to that of the *kau hesa* ensemble shown in Figure 14 of Zemp 1973b in that the musicians face each other in two lines.

The *rihe mumu* ensemble on this record has four panpipes and a variable

number of drone instruments (12 here), whistles, and open tubes played like trumpets (formerly, the musicians danced as well). The panpipes have a range of two octaves plus a sixth, the middle octave being divided into seven intervals of a whole tone or less (from 143 to 214 cents), and the lower octave having four wider intervals (from 191 to 486 cents). Characteristic for the contrapuntal vocal and instrumental style of both islands are several voice parts and a drone, all parts ending in unison at the close of the piece or stanza. In his notes, Zemp gives terms for the polyphonic parts in the respective languages and in translation. The vocal parts, for example, are:

Guadalcanal: *nginia*¹

Savo: *savosavo*

Voice 1: *hihinda* ("opens")

nyagogu ("before")

Voice 2: *tumuri* ("follows")

buringa ("after")

Voice 3: *ngungulu* ("grows")

salanguru ("growl behind")

(chorus)

Additional voices:

ngurunguru ("growing";
rhythmic gasping in the
silaru)

geregere (an octave above
the final tone in the *rope*)

Many musical characteristics revealed on earlier records recur here: wide melodic range (up to 21 semitones on Side A and 20 semitones on Side B), falsetto and yodel-like changes in vocal register at the top of the range, humming, a profusion of sectional markers, and relatively few words in the song texts. A new singing style is also presented on this disc: the amazing vocal technique of the Guadalcanal *rope* soloists who produce powerful tones without any effort visible in their neck muscles. Each of these *rope* songs ends with a downward glissando closing the final note.

This record is a partial result of a survey of the music of several Solomon Island societies conducted by Zemp during two years in the field; these years were devoted mainly to an intensive study of one group, the 'Are'are of Malaita. With this disc Zemp continues to develop a valuable body of documentation on the music of the Solomon Islands; such documentation will, in the future, provide a substantial basis for comparative studies.

Danish Folklore Archives, Copenhagen

Jane Mink Rossen

NOTE

1. *Nginia* belongs to the Melanesian branch of the Austronesian language family, while *savosavo* is a non-Austronesian language.

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Music of the Maya-Quichés of Guatemala: The Rabinal Achí and Baile de la Canastas. Recorded by Henrietta Yurchenco. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1978. Folkways FE 4226. Notes by Henrietta Yurchenco, 12 pp., photos, mus. ex.

The student of the music of the Guatemalan highlands is fortunate indeed to be able to add this disc to his collection. Its value lies chiefly in the uniqueness of its contents, and that it contains the earliest recordings of Guatemalan Indian music yet to be commercially available. Previous examples of highland Maya music of Guatemala are recorded on Asch 4212, Folkways FE 4213, and Musée de l'Homme LD 45 1.

Henrietta Yurchenco, many of whose recordings of Mexican music made in the 1940's have long been available, now presents the recordings made in Guatemala during a two-month stay in 1945. Her pioneer efforts in the folk music of these two countries were made "with a Presto 'portable' disc recorder and a small gasoline-driven generator" (see Stanford 1969). This extensive project was funded by the Library of Congress, the Departamentos de Educación of Mexico and Guatemala, and the Interamerican Indian Institute.

Represented by musical examples are the towns of Chajul, Nebaj, and Chichicastenango in the department of El Quiché; Rabinal in Baja Verapaz (not in El Quiché, as listed in the notes to Side 1, Band 5); San Juan Chamelco in Alta Verapaz, and Momostenango in Totonicapán. Although the title of the album indicates that the music comes from the Maya-Quichés, the "Baile de las Canastas" and other items from Chajul (Side 1, Bands 2, 3, 6; Side 2, Band 6) and those from Nebaj (Side 2, Bands 3b and 5) come from Ixils, a branch of the Mam-, not the Quiché-, Maya family. With two exceptions, the disc contains instrumental music, selections on the 13 bands falling into three main categories: music for the accompaniment of dance-dramas, music for *cofradía* rituals honoring the images of the saints, and popular dance music.

Most selections are excerpts from performances arranged for the recordings. The difficulty of recruiting non-professional musicians in rural settings is well known to field workers, and may account for the absence of the *tambor*, the double-skinned cylindrical drum, which regularly plays with the flute to accompany the "Baile de Moros" (Side 1, Band 4, a & b), with the *chirimía* (a shawm) for the "Baile de la Conquista" (Side 2, Band 1, a, b, & c), and with the flute and *tun* (the "slit-drum" or *teponaztli*, as it is known in Mexico) for the "Baile del Venado" of Rabinal (Side 1, Band 5, a to d).

It is of the greatest interest to have two pieces from the very old dance-drama "Rabinal Achí," about which there is a growing body of published literature. The ensemble consists of two long curved valveless metal trumpets, probably 19th century band instruments, replacing the long wooden trumpets described in colonial sources, and depicted in the pre-Columbian murals at Bonampak, and a *tun* that produces three fundamental pitches.

In almost two pages of not wholly accurate notes, the editor provides historical background of the dance and a short sketch of the plot. Although the notes state that the drama has not been performed since 1856, after a lapse of some years, regular if not yearly performances of the dance-drama were resumed, and the dance and its music are today a vital tradition in Rabinal (a full description of a performance in 1955 may be found in Rodríguez Rouanet 1962). Careful comparison of transcriptions made in 1856, the recordings on the present disc, and more recent performances reveals an unbroken continuity of style.

Also of great value are the clearly indigenous pieces from the "Baile de las Canastas" (also known as "Baile del Gorrión") from Chajul, which uses an ensemble of *tun*, tortoise shell gong, and trumpet (Side 1, Bands 2 & 3). Here the trumpet plays in an almost metrical style, resembling that of the "Baile de la Conquista" *chirimía* and *tambor* ensemble, ubiquitous in the highlands (Side 2, Bands 1 & 3). A very interesting vocal part that alternates antiphonally with the trumpet, on Band 4, lacks text or translation. Background material describing the mythology of the dance is provided. Of the nine *sones* that comprise the dance, three are presented here, plus a *son de San Gaspar*, grouped with them, though not identified in the essay as part of the dance.

The indigenous Guatemalan flute is typically an open, end-blown fipple flute with six distal finger holes, made of a length of cane (referred to in the notes as "reed flute"). It is usually played in ensemble with a *tambor*. Here (Side 1, Band 4 a & b) a selection of solos from the "Baile de los Moros" of Rabinal presents us with the oft-heard short phrases of descending contour, ending with a quick rise to a higher pitch, so characteristic of highland flute playing. More unusual in style are three solos from San Juan Chamelco. The flute is heard in combination with the *tun* on Bands 5, a to d. These flute pieces are remarkable for a strong partial clearly heard almost a fourth below the fundamental, not explained in the notes. Band 6 of Side 1 treats us to a *son de cuaresma* from Chajul, in which the trumpet plays antiphonally with drum and flute, in a style widely heard during Lent and Holy Week.

Side One of the disc ends with a *tambor* solo, not accounted for in the notes or on the label. The popular "Baile de la Conquista" is represented in four selections of *chirimía* (Side 2, Band 1) and *chirimía* and *tambor* (Side 2, Band 3), and also in what is apparently a dance piece, the *son de Santa María*. The *marimba sencilla*, or diatonic-keyboard marimba, in which a single player performs the music for the "Baile de San Miguel" (Side 2, Band 4) contrasts sharply with three selections of popular dance music in the more commercial style of Ladino playing, apparently by three players.

The disc ends with a selection from Chajul that features two male voices singing in non-lexical syllables to the accompaniment of four guitars (almost inaudible on the recording) and *adufe*, a square frame-drum of Spanish introduction (Side 2, Band 6). This style is strongly reminiscent of the singing to string ensembles heard among the Tzutuhils of Sololá, and the Chamulas in the Chiapas highlands. Virtually all of this music is still performed in the highlands today—an

encouraging realization for those who fear the obliteration of indigenous music by the popular music of the media.

Editorial mistakes in the notes, such as the omission of musical transcriptions referred to in the text, and clumsy arrangement of the notes, so that descriptive essays are separated from the bands they describe, are problems contributors to Folkways have encountered before. In spite of these shortcomings, this is an extremely valuable document that constitutes a major contribution to the body of information on the music of the highland Maya.

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Qawwali: Sufi Music from Pakistan. The Sabri Brothers & Ensemble. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1978. Nonesuch H-72080. Stereo. Jacket notes.

Not much is available on *qawwali* singing. This record is a welcome addition to the phonographic literature of music of India and Pakistan. The recording is well done and the jacket notes aptly written. One point should be added, however: *qawwali* are usually in Urdu, but many *qawwali* are also popular in Hindustani, Hindi, and Punjabi (Side 1, Band 2, has couplets in the *Pothohari* dialect of Punjabi).

Here is some information to supplement the jacket notes. The Chishti Order of the Sufis have a great following in India. The basic philosophy of this sect is love, both physical (*jismani*) and spiritual (*ruhani*). From the experience of *jismani* love, one is directed to *ruhani* love. Platonic love is common among them and is recognized as an important stage in the novice's progress towards realizing divine love (*ishq-i-haqiqi*). They also consider music to be an important vehicle for uniting the individual soul with the Supreme.

Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti of Ajmer, the first head of the Chishti Order in India, came to India around 1190-91 A.D. It is commonly believed that he introduced *qawwali* singing and accompanying instruments (similar to *Bhajan* and *Kirtan* singing) to his disciples, because he found the *bhajan* and *kirtan* singing of the Hindus helpful in devotion. The tradition of *qawwali* singing popular before this had been recitation of *qasidas* in Arabic and Persian, without instrumental accompaniment, except for an occasional *dapha* (tambourine) (Sarmadee 1975:44):

There are three qaul-singers, with the *sir* (leader) in the middle . . . no instruments. Only an average size Duhul, in place of duff abandoned in favour of the former, to mark the time and the dastak (hand-clap).

The *qawwali* singing introduced by Khwaja Muinuddin became very popular during the time of Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya (1234-1325) of Delhi. His disciple,

Amir Khusrau (1253–1325), is said to have nourished *qawwali* with his poetic genius. As a result, “qawwals all over India recognize him to be their master, even today” (Mirza 1962:239). Today, *qawwali* singing is very popular during *Urs*, as well as for entertainment. There are competitions of *qawwals* arranged for mass appeal, and many women *qawwali* singers are well-known in India.

The training and schools of *qawwali* are similar to that of classical music. There are families of traditional *qawwali* singers who undergo rigorous training. They believe that *qawwali* singing at a *daragah* or during *Urs* is a religious act and therefore do not demand a set fee but accept whatever is given as a gift of the holy saints. In addition to clapping, *dholak* and *harmonium* are the most common accompanying instruments, although today many *qawwali* ensembles use additional instruments such as *bulbul tarang*, bongo drums, clarinet, and violin. The Sabri brothers and ensemble add two harmoniums, three types of drum (*dholak*, *tabla*, and *nal*), and a *tanpura*.

Side 1, Band 1 is a fine example of musical spontaneity when, given time, *qawwals* insert appropriate verses glorifying “Allah” and “hoo.” Side 2, Band 2, is evidence that *qawwali* singing is influenced by classical music. The brief *dholak* and *nal* solo (at the point where the text is referring to “sounds of cymbals and of drums”) is well-placed. This record is musically rich, reminding the listener of the *ragas* of classical music.

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Laxmi G. Tewari

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Turkish Folk Music. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. [1976]. Lyrichord LLST 7289. Recordings and notes by Michael G. Kaloyanides.

This disc does not really offer—as the title might lead one to suppose—a profile of Turkish folk music as a whole, but contains rather recordings from a fairly circumscribed area. Its varied contents, on the other hand, do not actually establish a representative picture of the village repertoire around Sivrialan, 100 kilometers southwest of Sivas. Of the ten pieces on the disc only four (three of these are accompanied by the long-necked lute *saz* or *baglama*) are *aşık* songs, those partly religious songs by semiprofessional singer-poets who mostly belong to the Shi'ite sect of the *alevi*. Another item is a birthday hymn to Mohammed (*mevlûd*). Three songs of custom are also included (harvest, wedding, and lament or lullaby), while both remaining pieces in the group termed “entertainment music” by the collector are purely instrumental (small vertical flute *duduk*, oboe and drum *zurna* and *davul*). Much of what Kaloyanides says, nevertheless, in his terse commentary, is quite accurate, though a little oversimplified and incomplete. One should

be able to gain more detailed information from a brochure, which can be obtained from the author.

In other respects, Turkish words in the accompanying notes are correctly spelled, a point one misses in many other publications in which transcription into a Western language is effected, although the Turks have been using Latin script for about half a century. One can probably trace the varying importance of the soundtracks to the fact that the collector, who acknowledges Wesleyan University for making his trip possible, belonged (as I suppose) to a 1972 study group concerning itself chiefly with the *aşık*. The folk music repertory, also, in the region visited may be somewhat differently constituted. *Aşık* songs and purely religious songs are, as a matter of fact, to be reckoned with folk music conditionally; it is to the latter that love and dance songs above all belong. These, however, are totally lacking here. Even less, in relation to these, can one use the term *makam*, as Kaloyanides does; in its broadest sense it is in no way present in folk music. Certainly there are the bases of modes here that are similar to *makam* scales. These the singer or folk musician does not know or put a name to; they are used with much greater freedom, especially in intonation.

The incisive comments on instruments, their significance, and descriptions of context show that the collector has expert knowledge at his disposal and is able to make valid observations in bringing out important issues. Despite this, there are some misleading statements. The author rightly observes, for example, that the type of so-called "extended melody" (*uzun hava*) is defined most of all by its musical characteristics (Side A1), but later specifies (A2) a clear textual relationship as a subunit of the *uzun hava*. A second song sung by an *aşık* (B1) is termed by the author a village version of a dervish dance, though this piece also, in its musical character, resembles a pure *aşık* song. In other respects the songs, especially these *aşık* songs that convincingly represent the regional style around Sivas, have clearly remained uncut on the disc. One is all the more surprised at the final *zurna-davul* track, which includes only one unremarkable piece though this festal, professional village music generally lasts for hours. One misses comment on the melodies of the other instrumental pieces for flute, which are "interpreted melodically" here (present, certainly, are the typical calls of Turkish shepherds, and the listener is grateful for these). Such oversights are compensated for by the three songs of custom (A5, B2, B4). They are peculiarly authentic—as a cry of interruption and other aspects indicate—and were taped during an actual event. The harvest song (A5) with its narrow compass of a minor third and short motifs is most significant.

The stereo recording throughout is excellent. Only in the *zurna-davul* piece has the recordist allowed the drummer, who generally dominates in terms of volume, to disappear completely behind the melody instrument; this is as much a result of Western conceptions of musical texture as of microphone placement. If Kaloyanides could have published a larger selection of recordings we would very likely have a typical overview of the store of folk music in the district of Central Anatolia he visited.

Berlin, Germany

Kurt Reinhard
(translated by James Porter)

Africa: Shona Mbira Music. Recorded in Mondoro and Highfields, Rhodesia by Paul Berliner. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1977. Nonesuch Explorer Series H 72077. Jacket notes by Paul Berliner.

With this record *mbira* recordings have come of age. Instead of short excerpts of a number of different *mbira* styles, this recording explores in some depth the magnificent artistry of probably the finest Shona *mbira* player and singer, Hakurotwi Mude. In some of the items Mude sings and plays *mbira*; in others he is featured as the singer with other *mbira* players. The instrument exemplified in this recording is the *mbira dzavadzimu* (*mbira* of spirits), usually played in ensemble with at least two and often as many as eight *mbiras* together with one or more gourd rattles. As its name indicates, it is usually played at spirit ceremonies, and in the context of these ceremonies one or more persons may go into trance.

The notes for the present record, though brief as a result of space limitations on the jacket, are very informative and effectively combine Western analytical interests with a sensitive description of the views of the carriers of *mbira* tradition. Berliner describes, for example, the two basic patterns of *mbira dzavadzimu* music: the *kushaura* lead pattern and the interlocking *kutsinhira* cross pattern, showing how these patterns are used in most of the items on the record. He also describes the three different singing techniques and how they become an integral part of the Shona *mbira* music tradition. On the other hand, he briefly but effectively articulates the meaning that *mbira* music has for Shona listeners, indicating sometimes the appropriate mood portrayed in a particular performance. This combination of both inside and outside views is often lacking in the documentation of many recordings; the ability to combine these views is an indication of the depth of understanding as well as the cultural sensitivity that Berliner has brought to bear upon his study of Shona *mbira* music.

Several items on the record merit special note. The first item on Side 1, *Nhemamusasa*, is a clear analytical illustration of the musical nature of *mbira dzavadzimu* music. The first two bands illustrate two different performances of the piece without singing and reveal how the *kushaura* and *kutsinhira* parts relate. The embryonic harmonic scheme that is a part of all Shona *mbira* music can clearly be heard and compared on these two bands, as well as the 3-against-4 polyrhythms of the bass lines of the two *mbira* parts. In the third band of *Nhemamusasa*, the vocal artistry of Hakurotwi Mude is added, and here one can study the three types of vocal technique used in the music. Thus, in the three bands of this one item, one can be progressively introduced to the major musical components of *mbira dzavadzimu* music.

The last band of Side 1 and the second band of Side 2 are two different versions of the same piece, called *Taireva*. The repertoire of *mbira dzavadzimu* consist of a limited number of titles, each of which can have many versions. The often illusory similarity between these versions can be studied in these two examples. The separation between the high and low ranges of the instrument is particularly apparent in the second version of *Taireva* (Side 2, Band 2).

The fidelity of the record is very good; while the stereo separation of the two *mbira* parts facilitates analytical listening, it is a little too apparent for realistic sound reproduction. The fading out of items may have been unavoidable on a single record format, but one often wishes to hear a complete performance with typical beginnings and endings. The record serves as an acceptable audio companion to Berliner's recent book (1978).

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1978 *The Soul of Mbira: Music and Traditions of the Shona People of Zimbabwe*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Ethiopie: Polyphonies des Dorze (Collection Musée de l'Homme). One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1977. Le Chant du Monde LDX 74646. Stereo-mono. Jacket notes in French and English, map, photos.

Recent recordings have covered some of the diverse and complex musical cultures of Ethiopia, including the areas of the Afro-Semitic *beta'izrael* ("Black Jews"), the Amhara *azmari*, the Orthodox Christian Church; the Afro-Cushitic *Gallas* and the *Agew*; and the Nilotic *ShanKillas* (see Kebede 1969, 1969a). We now have an excellent recording of music from a region of Ethiopia almost wholly unexplored and unknown to the outside world. As the editor, Bernard Lortat-Jacob, correctly states, the degree of complexity that characterizes the principal forms of the Dorze repertoire suggests a comparison with Pygmy polyphony.

The examples on this disc brought to my mind numerous childhood memories as I watched the Dorzes work, sing, and dance. On the eve of *inkuTaTash*¹ (the Ethiopian New Year), we Amhara children went to neighborhood Dorze homes to pick up the *shammas* (togas) that they wove to be worn on that occasion. We admired their craftsmanship in the basketry, pottery, and metalwork that adorned their homes. The embroidery around the edges of each toga, the *Tibeb*, is made of silk in complex designs that dazzle the eye (the Dorze provide the *shamma* worn by the majority of people in Ethiopia). Similar to the complex and colorful strands of the *shamma Tibeb* and other Dorze artwork, their music and dance are highly polyphonic and multipart.

The two sides of this disc consist of a total of nine examples, almost entirely vocal. Examples on the first side are performed separately by men and women, while the three examples on Side 2 are performed by girls' and boys' choruses. The jacket notes have been carefully prepared to provide readers with valuable information—the editor uses native Dorze terminology, classification of music, and song titles with brief but appropriate translations. He does not forget (as many European-Americans do) to mention by name his Ethiopian assistants whose co-operation was "an invaluable help in these researches." When one considers, in addition, the very good sound quality of this recording, it constitutes a welcome introduction to Dorze music as part of Ethiopic studies.

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Ashenafi Kebede

NOTE

1. The glottalized Ethiopian sounds are capitalized.

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Drauss'n vor der Wirtshaustür. Volksmusik aus der Oberpfalz, herausgegeben im Auftrag des Bezirkstags der Oberpfalz von Adolf J. Eichenseer. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. [1976]. Colosseum Best.-Nr. Colos SM 3016. Jacket notes in German by Adolf J. Eichenseer.

Da Engl is Kumma. Volksmusik aus der Oberpfalz, herausgegeben im Auftrag des Bezirkstags der Oberpfalz von Adolf J. Eichenseer. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. [1976]. Colosseum Best.-Nr. Colos SM 3018. Jacket notes in German by Adolf J. Eichenseer.

Recorded documents such as these give rise to contradictions: on the one hand, actual practice is bound to conform to what is usually heard on radio and television in order to satisfy specific intellectual and aesthetic demands; on the other, the commodity "folk music" is far removed, in its primary existence, from the criteria governing such "musical production," i.e., that it must sound genuine, instruments should be precisely in tune and played with technical perfection. How does one bridge this contradiction?

Authentic recordings produced as a result of ethnomusicological fieldwork serve rather the cause of scientific endeavor in the scrutiny of musical laws bound up in the phenomenon, to a lesser extent casual listening to the material. Recordings of arranged models and stereotypes of folk music are, nevertheless, understandably far removed from the subject of "folk music." One must concede that Adolf J. Eichenseer, Director of Regional Folklore in the Oberpfalz, merits attention for bringing out documentary recordings as a consequence of his intimate knowledge of folk musical life in the part of the country he knows so well, and for his awareness of the above-mentioned contradictions.

The subject matter consists of village songs and musical items associated with custom and passed on aurally. These operate as the agent of Christian belief within a framework of paraliturgical celebration and domestic devotions: on the disc *Da Engl is Kumma* sociability is promoted in a cheerful circle around the beer table; dancing is stimulated in *Drauss'n vor der Wirtshaustür*. Sources for these examples are in old peasant manuscripts or from oral tradition, and in every case the editor has elucidated the source material. An insert with the discs adds song texts and descriptions of the dance. It is noteworthy here that one finds numerous developments and new formations in the area of instrumental folk music: in the "Vilstaler," for example, there is the rough description "compounded from old fragments, a 'freshly-knit' version of the Amberger accordion duet." Again, the editor talks of an "integrally-knit" version of the *Ländler* "An Kare seiner." All this is a sign of a vital folk music. A predominantly free development in, above all, instrumental music in the Oberpfalz may be consequently set against the forms that, in many places, have been fixed by print and solidified; this trend is carefully fostered by Eichenseer. The present discs are proof of an attitude that encourages

rather than confines; that is, it develops and permits innate musicality to run an unfettered course.

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(translated by James Porter)

The Swedish Fiddlers: Music From the Gathering of the Fiddlers at Delsbo. Recorded by Gert Palmcrantz, Dag Haeggquist, and Samuel Charters. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1978. Folkways FW 8471. Compiled and with descriptive notes by Samuel Charters, 7 pp., photos. (Originally issued in Sweden as Sonet SLPD 2039).

The annual fiddlers' festival held in Delsbo, Hälsingland, is a popular event, drawing thousands of people to the northern Swedish village during the first weekend of July. There is a special significance to this enthusiasm, for it reflects a recently-awakened interest in local musical idioms by a country that has become identified with the most modern economic and political structures of 20th century Europe. There is probably no more important symbol of Scandinavian folk tradition in general than the bowed stringed instrument, from the days of the sagas to the present.

In this light, it is possible to understand the point of view from which the recording under discussion was produced; for it seems to have been designed to document a phenomenon rather than an event. This intention is suggested in the accompanying notes by Samuel Charters, who writes: "In the final editing of the tapes the emphasis was on the variety of the music—so that as many different styles as possible would be represented—and on the different traditions of the older and younger musicians" (p. 4). Such a thrust probably explains why the extensive descriptive notes, so strong on general historical and cultural information, are weak on necessary background data concerning particular performances and performance selections. It may also explain the choice of photographs, drawn from a variety of times and places; their mysterious significance is underscored by such vague titles as: "Fiddlers at a gathering," or "Young fiddler with a key fiddle at gathering in 1977." Further, the only photograph to illustrate the featured festival itself is not accompanied by an identification of the three performers depicted, who are simply described as "Young fiddlers at the Delsbo Gathering." On the other hand, the only photographed performer to be identified by name (key-fiddler Eric Sahlström) is not one of the musicians featured on the record. Most confusing of all, the actual genesis of these recordings remains a mystery, for we are not told when they were made or whether they derive from a single, or several, Delsbo festivals. In addition, insufficient editorial care has resulted in a few incorrect Swedish word forms (e.g., *spelman* for *spelman*) and inconsistent diacritical symbols.

The idea of offering as representative a sampling of Swedish fiddle music as possible is viable. However, the focus on general, rather than on particular, information reminds one unpleasantly of the old, romantic notion of folk tradition as something other than the communication of individuals. Thus, while it is possible to understand the expressed intent of the producers, it is not so easy to agree with

the practical success of this rationale; indeed, it has yielded unfortunate results, not only in the accompanying descriptive material, but also in the selection of recordings—which include a number of routine performances and even one performance by obviously skilled players who happen to get off to a bad start. It may also explain the disappointingly low quality of sound reproduction; crowd noise is an almost constant factor, a matter of special annoyance during performances by one or two players.

Despite its shortcomings, the descriptive annotation gives valuable information unavailable elsewhere. And the disc itself does provide an opportunity to hear a variety of *låtar* (as Swedish fiddle pieces are called). The majority of these are played by groups of fiddlers, including a number of ensembles from the local players' organizations. There are examples, as well, of the old Swedish tradition of *parspel* (violin duet playing), in which a second violin part improvises a point-against-point accompaniment to the melody. This is the tradition to which American audiences were introduced through the virtuoso performances of Björn Ståbi and Ole Hjorth at the Newport Folk Festival of 1969 and their subsequent Nonesuch recording (H 72033). Ståbi also appears on the Folkways disc but only as part of a large ensemble. Finally, the recording provides a rare opportunity to hear the sound of the *nyckelharpa* (key fiddle), a bowed lute that contains sympathetic and drone strings as well as melody strings stopped by an elaborate system of finger-activated keys (see Ling 1967).

In general, the fiddle pieces featured on this disc are of a homophonic texture. They are tonal (usually in major), with melodies of a basic triadic construction, and supported by light accompaniment. Most exhibit a symmetrical, two-part structure, each section subdivided evenly into four- and eight-measure phrases that are typically articulated by open and closed endings (*estampie* fashion). The styles of most of this music, reminiscent of Rococo, and later, 18th century styles of European violin music, reflect the long-standing association of Sweden with mainstream European affairs. Much Swedish fiddle music has long existed in notated form; and it is not possible with the tradition of this nation (any more than with that, for example, of Scotland) to draw neat lines of distinction between what has been, and what has not been, aurally transmitted. This should be kept in mind when considering that the new wave of interest in folk music among urban young people in Sweden has resulted in the playing of fiddle pieces by persons schooled in European concert violin techniques from Russia, Germany, or Hungary. It is important to realize that the clash is between different ethnic streams. Thus, while the general European style has long been readily available to the fiddler in most parts of Sweden, the indigenous style has existed side-by-side in most rural areas; and, as Charters's notes point out, Swedish *polskas* were notated along with minuets in 18th century notebooks kept by *spelman*. Röjas Jonas Eriksson, who brought to his music conservatory training a strong background in the traditional playing of his family, has since made a study of these differences in style. His virtuoso demonstration of variation technique (Side B, Band 6) is of prime interest. Of equal significance is the duet performed by Berit Henriksson and Lars Erik Vikström (Side B, Band 3), in which a beautiful example of elision between the first two phrases obscures the four-square time divisions and serves to illustrate a rhythmic subtlety typical of old Norwegian and Swedish fiddle music. The overall minor flavor of this *polska* may, on close inspection, be seen to result from a tetrachordal construction often observed in fiddle music, for it reflects juxtaposed left hand finger patterns. This selection is attributed to a celebrated 19th century

spelman, Lapp-Nils (Nils Jonsson), whose fame attests to a long-standing virtuoso component in Swedish fiddling tradition.

In sum, the record's descriptive notes contain valuable general information and the selections presented include a number of important performances. It is unfortunate that the result has been marred by poor quality recording, editorial carelessness, lack of specific information, and generally poor organization.

Rutgers Univ., Newark NJ

Pandora Hopkins

REFERENCE CITED

Ling, Jan

1967 *Nyckelharpan. Studier i ett folkligt musikinstrument av Jan Ling*. Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söners förlag.

Ukrainian-American Fiddle and Dance Music: The First Recordings 1926-1936. Volumes 1 and 2. Two 33 1/3 rpm discs. 1977. Folklyric Records 9014-5. Jacket notes by Anisa H. Sawyckyj. (Available from Arhoolie Records, 10341 San Pablo Ave., El Cerrito, CA 94530).

In spite of its history of popularity the Ukrainian fiddle has failed to attract the serious attention it deserves. Instead, the multi-stringed and lyre-like *bandura*, formally recognized as Ukraine's national musical instrument, continues to steal the show and obscure the wide range of instruments that together constitute such an important aspect of the Ukrainian folk music tradition. This reissue, then, with its sampling of 28 earlier 78 rpm items is doubly welcome: both as memento and document, the set of two volumes offers a precious peek at a tradition that once flourished as a productive musical phenomenon among the many Ukrainian immigrant communities dotting America's industrial heartland during the early decades of the 20th century.

That the tradition should have faded away is of little surprise. After all, how long could Old Country village pieces with titles like "When I Drive With My Horses For the Night" (a translation, of course) continue to function as a generative force in such urban centers as Manhattan, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Chicago? The arrival of the mechanical sound recording did, however, provide a new and immensely popular dimension for continuity—temporarily at least. The old mode of oral, living transmission took on a new and revolutionary twist: instant aural feedback—a phenomenon that allowed the tradition to linger on as a portable, packaged commodity able to travel and accompany the Ukrainian immigrant on his peregrinations through the New World and to link him directly with the comfort of downhome sounds. His little but cherished collection of 78 rpm discs acted as an acoustic buffer and antidote against the seemingly endless bombardment of everyday pressures to change and conform to the ways of his new environment. With the drop of a record needle he could transport himself back to the familiar and happy world of Ukrainian weddings and christenings, as exemplified by four of the items reproduced here. Elsewhere on the continent the pace of acculturation was less pronounced, and among the "colonies" of Ukrainian farm communities

in Western Canada the old 78 rpm recordings continued to entertain right into the '60s, long enough to share in the birth of a kindred sound: Ukrainian country music on the prairies (see Klymasz 1972).

To a large degree these volumes of Ukrainian-American fiddle and dance music serve to commemorate the ground-breaking 1977 conference organized by the American Folklife Center in Washington, D.C. as a means of drawing attention to the rich but poorly explored field of America's ethnic folk music complex (the Center did plan to release a publication of the Conference proceedings). For a comprehensive overview of Ukrainian fiddle music one should also consult Folkways' classic long-playing disc featuring folk music of the Ukraine (FE 4443), a variety of Ukrainian country music recordings from Western Canada emanating from the studios of such places as V-Records in Winnipeg, Manitoba, and a recent album of Soviet Ukrainian field recordings, which includes a wide range of contemporary instrumental village dance music. Anisa H. Sawyckyj's jacket notes serve as an indispensable introduction to all this material, and one hopes that she will one day find the opportunity to expand her all-too-brief sketch of Myron Surmach Sr. into a full-length life history of this Ukrainian entrepreneur from New York City, actively involved in fostering the musical life of his community for over half a century.

The title of this recording is somewhat misleading, since several of the items feature other musical instruments as well as singing that ranges from rollicking interpretations of taunts and ditties to a complete rendition of a beloved Ukrainian folk ballad (undoubtedly the earliest sound recording of "Bodnarivna") and the two dramatic playlets, the wedding and christening items already mentioned. But these matters are really only unexpected bonuses, and the only cause for slight irritation is a single inconsistency regarding the list of items on Side 2 of Volume I (vis-à-vis the corresponding disc-label).

Memorial Univ. of Newfoundland, St. John's

Robert B. Klymasz

REFERENCE CITED

Klymasz, Robert B.

1972 "'Sounds You Never Before Heard': Ukrainian Country Music in Western Canada," *Ethnomusicology* 16(3):372-80.

Songs of Humor & Hilarity (Folk Music in America, Vol. 11). Edited by Richard K. Spottswood. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1978. Library of Congress LBC 11. Descriptive booklet, 12 pp., texts, photos.

Songs of Local History & Events (Folk Music in America, Vol. 12). Edited by Richard K. Spottswood. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1978. Library of Congress LBC 12. Descriptive booklet, 11 pp., texts, photos.

Songs of Childhood (Folk Music in America, Vol. 13). Edited by Richard K. Spottswood and Rick Ulman. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1978. Library of Congress LBC 13. Descriptive booklet, 13 pp., texts, photos.

Old Mother Hippletoe: Rural and Urban Children's Songs. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1978. New World Records NW 291. Mono. Descriptive notes by Kate Rinzler bound into jacket, 8 pp., texts, biblio., disco.

Solo & Display Music (Folk Music in America, Vol. 14). Edited by Richard K. Spottswood. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1978. Library of Congress LBC 14. Descriptive booklet, 8 pp., texts, photos., mus. ex.

Religious Music: Solo & Performance (Folk Music in America, Vol. 15). Edited by Richard K. Spottswood. One 12" 33 1/3 rpm disc. 1978. Library of Congress LBC 15. Descriptive booklet, 10 pp., texts, photos.

The Bicentennial celebration has come and gone, leaving behind it only two attempts at panoramic presentation of American music that deserve serious attention (for further comments on this observation, see Anne Cohen 1978, Norm Cohen 1978). Five of the albums discussed here comprise one-third of the set, *Folk Music in America*, issued by the Music Division of the Library of Congress (LC). The sixth volume is one of a 100-album set produced by New World Records (NWR) for its parent company, Recorded Anthology of American Music, Inc.

Both the LC and NWR series cut across the usual record producers' boundaries by drawing on commercial recordings, field recordings (old and new), electrical transcriptions, radio air checks, and home recordings—some never previously issued. Both ran into some problems obtaining the broad consent of major record companies to lease material from them (e.g., Hank Williams' MGM recordings; this resulted in some striking omissions in the NWR series). The distribution schemes of the two series are different: LC discs can be purchased from the Library of Congress, and are also available at many record stores; the NWR series was distributed free to 7,000 selected institutions throughout the country—other qualified institutions may purchase sets for \$195. Those records not including leased commercial material will be sold in record stores to the general public.

The LC discs each include 16 to 18 selections and are accompanied by an enclosed, illustrated brochure of 7–13 pages, which includes head notes to the songs and text transcriptions (also transliterations and translations, where appropriate), discographic details, references to related recordings and published texts, and brief general notes. The NWR fold-out albums contain bound-in notes of 4–8 pages in length with similar contents except that, in general, there are no (or few) references to other published and recorded versions of the pieces presented. They usually include a substantial introductory essay treating the subject of the album in a broad way, and a general bibliography and discography. The albums dealing with folk-related music are delimited according to a mixture of organizing principles: two are concerned with "ethnic" (i.e., mostly non-English language) music; one with Hispanic-American; two with Amerindian music; four with hillbilly/country/bluegrass (i.e., commercial Anglo-American traditions); three with blues and early jazz; three with gospel, hymns, and sacred harp music; one with New England folk music; one with Southeastern white folk music; one with Georgia Sea Islands music; one with children's lore; and three that deal broadly with vocal and instrumental folk styles.

In contrast, the LC series is organized thematically: in addition to the five albums reviewed here are three of dance music, another of religious music, and one each devoted to songs of love and courtship, migration and immigration, com-

plaint and protest, labor and livelihood, death and tragedy, and war and history. Each of the NWR records is edited by a specialist in the appropriate area. Though Richard K. Spottswood acted as overall editor for the entire LC series, the aid of specialists was solicited in preparing the brochure notes for several of the albums.

Given the operating constraints, the level of quality in both series is remarkably high. On the NWR records the material is aesthetically pleasing and appropriately chosen; the annotations are well-written and scholarly without being ponderous. The technical quality of the re-mastering is in most cases good, though the NWR practice of squeezing 25 and sometimes even 30 or more minutes of music on to an LP side has resulted in some problems. Much the same can be said of the LC series; though here it should be noted that the main strength of the series is at the same time the source of its weakness. Spottswood has genuinely plowed virgin territory in devoting 50 or more of his selections to non-English language traditions; yet these are areas in which our knowledge is sparse. Unlike blues and hillbilly music, ethnic commercial traditions are only now becoming known to us. We are just learning about the musicians and singers, producers, promoters, and companies who had a hand in the conception, production, and distribution of such traditions. As we have already learned about the Anglo-American tradition, a familiarity with only the domestic or private tradition (acknowledged generally as the "folk music" of the culture) does not provide a sufficient background for understanding and dealing with the public or assembly tradition (the basis for the commercial or semi-commercial music; see the elaboration of this concept in Cohen and Cohen 1977).

NWR's often rushed production schedule of ten new releases each few months—with different personnel in charge of artwork, legal matters, technical aspects, and literary details—has occasionally given the individual album editors much less time to select their material and prepare their commentary than they would have liked. The LC plan, much more in the hands of a single person, allowed for more leisure in searching out unusual and rare recordings. Spottswood was in fact able to listen to a large quantity of material in Columbia's archives that had never previously been issued in any form (Vols. 11, 14 and 15 each contain three such pieces). Perhaps one of the biggest shortcomings in the NWR series has been the reluctance to deal with recordings that could not be conveniently reprocessed, or were of inferior technical quality. How else are we to account for the virtually complete absence of recordings made prior to 1910 or so—a cutoff that excludes two full decades of American musical history, which were well preserved on early cylinder recordings?

Songs of Humor & Hilarity (LBC 11) defies attempts at overview statements, perhaps because our scholarly apparatus for dealing with humorous folksong is so feebly developed. Many of the familiar themes are represented here: the ever-so-slightly risqué courting song ("I'll Make Sweet Love to You"), the parents-objecting-to-suitor ("Nikolina"—Swedish), the miserable boarding-house ("The Arkansas Hotel"), the dinner-table hardships of the impoverished ("Old Cold Tater," "Beans"), the sexual double entendre ("Everybody's Fishin'"), the rube's befuddlement by modern technology ("Fordukas"—Lithuanian), cuckoldry ("Mamaguille"—calypso), and the "portmanteau" songs that serve simply as vehicles for a string of unrelated verses ("Ain't No Bugs on Me," "Down Where the Watermelons Grow"). A few humorous figures are absent (the mother-in-law, the old maid, the inebriate) who are easily found elsewhere. The origins of the songs are mixed: several are traceable to turn-of-the-century pop

music (one to the English music hall), while a few are of more recent commercial origin. Tune affiliations are sometimes more obvious: Fiddlin' John Carson's "Ain't No Bugs on Me" is a parody of "It Ain't Gonna Rain No More"; Bumble Bee Slim's "Everybody's Fishin'" shares a widespread tune also used with other double entendre songs such as "Truckin' Little Woman"; Gail Gardner's own composition, "The Moonshine Steer" borrows the tune of "The Roving Gambler"; and Jimmie Strothers' "Tennessee Dog" uses in part the tune of "Jordan is a Hard Road to Travel." Fourteen of the 18 selections are from commercial recordings, while three come from the Archive of Folk Song or other field recordings.

Only five of the recordings on *Songs of Local History & Events* (LBC 12) deal with identifiable historical events: "The Death of Ellenton," an interesting document about the evacuation of a small South Carolina town in preparation for the construction of the Savannah River nuclear facility in 1950; "Old Timbrook Blues," about the 1878 Kentucky Derby race between Ten Broeck and Miss Mollie McCarthy; "Hatfield McCoy Feud," about the Kentucky mountain feud of the 1880's; "Arcade Building Moan," about a 1930 fire in Knoxville, Tennessee; and the Mexican *corrido* "Gregorio Cortez," about the border badman/hero captured in 1902. Several of the others, while not so clearly tied to particular events, describe, or spring from, real places and goings-on. Only one item (Pete Steele's "The Boston Burglar") is of British origin. Two pieces are in Spanish, one in Cajun French, and the remainder in English. All in all, the examples demonstrate that topical ballads come in considerably more varied forms than the familiar "come-all-ye" style.

Solo & Display Music (LBC 14) focuses on instrumental music that exemplifies the virtuosity of the performer; but in reaching for breadth of styles the album falls short of the high level of some other recent reissues (I am thinking of such albums as *Old Time Mountain Guitar*, County 523, and *Mister Charlie's Blues*, Yazoo L 1024, in particular). Side A offers guitars, banjos, and mandolins, while Side B reaches further afield for examples of fiddle, harmonica, accordion, piano, jew's harp, and quill. For an album of instrumental music, the brochure notes could have provided more detailed musicological commentary (the paragraph on Sylvester Weaver's previously unissued "Soft Steel Piston" is devoted almost entirely to his better-known "Guitar Rag"). The notes to other selections ("Polka Ciacia Lala," "Hallay," "Drunken Hiccoughs," "Two Step de Eunice," "Pork and Beans") say nothing about the music or musical style. Among the banjos and guitars of Side A is Weaver's previously unissued (and untitled?) "Six-string Banjo Piece." According to the notes, Sam McGee was the only other artist to make extensive use of this curious instrument on records; I should have thought that Papa Charlie Jackson could qualify as well. In view of the many instruments not represented on the disc (though comprehensiveness was not a stated goal of the collection), such as dulcimer, hammered dulcimer, zither, autoharp, and any wind or horn instruments, I would question the inclusion of Vess L. Ossman's "Ragtime Medley." Though this 1896 cylinder recording is of musical and historical interest, Ossman was a long step removed from the genre presented, namely, folk music. Among the highlights of the 17 tracks are Joe Davidenko's Ukrainian mandolin piece and Reuben Sarkisian's Armenian fiddle tune—so much so that one wishes that more of this album had been devoted to "ethnic" music traditions.

On *Religious Music: Solo & Performance* (LBC 15) the selections move from solos on Side A to relatively more sophisticated treatments on Side B. Four lie

outside the familiar Anglo- and Afro-American idioms: the Ukrainian-American "Song of Calvary," the Italian-American "Pastorale de Natale," and two Amerindian selections, one recorded in 1890 by Jesse Walter Fewkes—the earliest recordings released on the entire series. The references to related recordings could in many cases be expanded.¹ There are many exciting and moving performances on this album, including Jimmy Murphy's "Electricity," Brother Dutch Coleman's "John the Baptist," Elder R. Wilson's "Better Get Ready," and the Golden Gate Jubilee Quartet's "What Are They Doing in Heaven Today?," all of which demonstrate the oft-made observation that in the realm of folk culture the distance between sacred and secular music is considerably smaller than it is in the world of high culture. "Death Chant," by Leroy Selam, a Yakima Indian studying for his doctoral degree in anthropology, is particularly haunting, as is the fascinating story behind its composition. Fiddlin' John Carson is in the middle, not at the right, in the photo on page 8 of the brochure.

Songs of Childhood (LBC 13), like the New World Records album (NW 291), is disappointing only in that so few of the selections are actually performed by children. In fact, several of the numbers (including "Dr. Ginger Blue," "The Dirty Dozen," "Circus Parade," and "Rip Van Winkle Blues") are neither *by* nor *about* children, and I would doubt that they ever were sung *for* children. I would not feel so strongly were it not for the regrettable fact that of all the albums of folk music currently available, few feature children singing their own folklore. Several recordings in addition to those listed in the notes can be cited.² The brochure notes to "Preacher and the Bear" are the first I have seen to date this pop song by Joe Arzonja (probably a pseudonym for Arthur Longbrake) to 1893; it is usually dated to 1904.

Old Mother Hippletoe: Rural and Urban Children's Songs (NW 291) covers much broader ground than the LC disc, and is in most respects a more satisfying survey. Side One is subtitled "Fun Songs and Story Songs," and includes several "grown-up songs of great antiquity that have probably been perennial favorites with children" (introductory essay). I worry a bit about that qualifier, "probably"—how do we know? At issue here is the frequent distinction between "nursery" lore and "children's" lore—the latter passed from child to child; the former, from adult to child. As such, nursery lore reflects what adults believe children want to hear—or perhaps what they believe children *should* hear. They may, or may not, reflect children's own interests accurately. For this reason, we are on firmer ground when we eavesdrop on the children themselves and record what they sing and play among one another. Side Two is much stronger in this regard, offering playground recordings of ring games, jump rope rhymes, cheer-leading, and play party songs, mostly rendered by children. The sections subtitled "Lullabies" and "Instruments Children Play" are performed by adults. Why offer adults playing these instruments? Why not children themselves? Have we no recordings of children playing instruments? (Do they really play them?)

The long introductory essay by Kate Rinzler provides an excellent overview of children's lore and its role in both pre-industrial and industrial communities. The headnotes to the songs and games are also exemplary. Text transcriptions, however, are occasionally flawed by stanzas omitted or out of order, ambiguous "twice" instructions, and misunderstood or misleading transcribed words (e.g., in "Round to Maryanne's," I would have transcribed the line given as "The good ship *Helen Blaise* is just struck on the rock" as "The good ship *Hell in Blazes* just . . ."—but perhaps the former conveys better the sense of euphemism). The

recently recorded examples from District of Columbia schoolchildren are particularly delightful. They are also a vivacious reminder that not every verse sung on the playground is a direct descendant of an Elizabethan ballad or rhyme.

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Norm Cohen

NOTES

1. To Elder Beck's "Drinking Shine" add reference to Gid Tanner's "You've Got to Stop Drinking Shine" (Columbia 15716-D); to "There's a Man Going Around Taking Names" add versions by Paul Robeson and Leadbelly; to Fiddlin' John Carson's "Amazing Grace," interpolated at the end of "At the Cross," add the Original Sacred Harp Choir's "New Britain" (Brunswick 5150), as well as many later recordings titled "Amazing Grace"; to "Where the Soul of Man Never Dies" could be added several bluegrass recordings of recent years; to "There is a Fountain Filled With Blood" add the version by the Phipps Family (Pine Mountain 125). Note also that Luther Magby's "Blessed Are the Poor in Spirit" uses practically the same tune as "You've Got to Walk That Lonesome Valley."

2. To "Jimmy Jenkins" add versions by Bascom Lamar Lunsford (Folkways FA 2040), Frank Proffitt (Folkways FA 2360), Jean Ritchie and Oscar Brand (Riverside RLP 12-646), and Harry and Jeanie West (Folkways FA 2352), as well as some by "folk revival" performers; to "Three Men Went A-Hunting" can be added several folk revival versions; to "Rocky Bye Baby" add a version by Bascom Lunsford (APS L 20) and again several folk revival performances; and to "Paper of Pins" add recordings by Lee Monroe Presnell (Folk Legacy FSA 23), the Tobacco Tags (Bluebird 8538), the Clancy Family (Tradition TLP 1034), and, once again, several folk revival versions; to "Preacher and the Bear" add the Poplin Family (Folkways FA 2306); the Wear Family (Rural Rhythm 123); Mac Wiseman (Hamilton HLP 130 and other labels); Hylo Brown (Rural Rhythm 176); J. E. Mainer (Rural Rhythm 208); and of course the number of early recordings by Arthur Collins that were responsible for the song's great popularity, including those on Victor 4431 and Edison 9000.

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COLLOQUY

REMARKS ON YOUNGERMAN'S "MAORI DANCING SINCE THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY"

Jennifer Shennan and Mervyn McLean

In her article "Maori Dancing Since the Eighteenth Century" Suzanne Youngerman (1974:95) states that the main purpose of her paper was "to discover the extent of the information available on Maori dances at the beginning of or during the early years of Western contact." This she has largely accomplished. There follows a less modest claim, however. Listing studies by Kaeppler on Tongan dance, by Costa on dance in Hawaii and the Society islands, and others, she considers it possible in light of her article to:

make a comparative study of the structure and function of dance on all these islands in the eighteenth century and today, as well as begin the analysis of the process of change that has occurred in these dance traditions.

Regrettably, there are too many inaccuracies in Youngerman's text for this to be feasible. There is no reference to any field work having been done by the author. Nor are any indigenous viewpoints, even on dance terminology, incorporated into her work. An implication is made, though not substantiated, that Maori dancing as it is performed, composed, received, and remembered by the indigenous people of New Zealand today, is adequately presented in this paper. To embark on a comparative study of Polynesian dance traditions with so inadequate a New Zealand base would, in our view, be premature.

Lack of field perspective

Some of Youngerman's problems arise from her evident lack of practical experience of Maori dancing. Thus on p. 89 she illustrates the necessity of considering the "cultural milieu of the writer" in assessing subjective impressions of *haka* by quoting a report from the *New York Post* in which a reviewer comments that though "In a jungle it might terrorize, . . . on stage it looks like clowning." Youngerman sees this as an example of the modern observer receiving an impression different from that intended by the dancers. In fact, in the context of a stage performance, the dancers may well have been clowning as Youngerman would realize if she had seen similar culture groups performing in New Zealand.

Again, Youngerman devotes more than two pages (p. 90-2) to speculation about "the relationship between motor activity and expression" and what it may be that a *haka* performance communicates to a Maori. One cannot but agree that "there is a danger in glibly applying Western subjective experiences to that of other peoples" (p. 90). In the case of the Maori, however, one must add that it is still possible to ask Maoris about their reactions and feelings. One Maori has, indeed, even published on the matter, though not, unfortunately, in time for his

article to have been seen by Youngerman. We commend to readers the following marvellously vivid, almost poetic [try reading it aloud] and quite explicit account of the psychological purpose of the *peruperu* or war-dance proper from Arapeta Awatere (1975:514) who was himself a renowned exponent of *haka* and served as a war-time commander of the Maori Battalion. In this passage Awatere convincingly relates the purpose of the *peruperu* to the etymology of the term as "the intensive form of *peru* 'anger'."

Hard conditioning makes the warriors physically and mentally fit to perform this dance which has the psychological purpose of demoralising the enemy by gestures, by posture, by controlled chanting, by conditioning to look ugly, furious to roll the fiery eye, to glare the light of battle therein, to spew the defiant tongue, to control, to distort, to snort, to fart the thunder of the war-god upon the enemy, to stamp furiously, to yell raucous, hideous, blood-curdling sounds, to carry the anger, the *peru*, of Tuumatauenga, the ugly-faced war-god, throughout the heat of battle.

Confusion of terminology

Youngerman is rightly critical of Elsdon Best for not always specifying the sources of his information in reconstructing the Maori dance culture of pre-European times, yet she herself falls into error as a result of her wholly uncritical acceptance of the popular works of Alán Armstrong (1964; 1966) who himself takes much of his material from Best and, more so than Best, fails to document his sources of information. Armstrong leads Youngerman astray on at least four major points:

1. Youngerman adheres largely to Armstrong's model of three major genres of Maori dance: namely, *haka*, action-song, and *poi*. This, however, is more accurately a statement of which dance genres are, or were, the prominent and typical repertoire of the Maori concert-parties, which began to be formed in the second and third decades of the twentieth century. Such groups have performed in their hundreds, travelling the length and breadth of New Zealand and there have also been tours abroad. Items from the above three dance genres are also performed by Maori clubs and similar groups at universities, teachers colleges, and secondary and primary schools, for presentation on ceremonial days, at prize-givings, school trips, exchange visits, arts festivals, fund-raising days, and all manner of public occasions, from visits of the reigning English monarch to annual school fairs. As a result, there can hardly be a single New Zealander who is not familiar with the sight and sound of *haka taparahi* (though not many would know it by that name), action-song, and *poi*. In recent years Maori experts in these genres have engaged themselves in cultural competitions, established initially on a regional and later on a national basis, which have considerably extended the repertoire of those clubs that take part. Traditional *waiata* and *paatere*, or else new compositions in similar style, are now included; *whaikoorero* (traditional oratory) and elements of *wero* (traditional challenge) may also be incorporated into a performance.

There are still, however, genres of Maori dance that are not and never have been a part of these stage performances and, as many of these are referred to in the historical accounts studied by Youngerman, it is not surprising that she encounters difficulties in applying Armstrong's "three genre" framework to this material.

2. The term *haka* appears to be accepted by Youngerman as generic for dance and is then applied to early accounts of dance whether or not they were so described.

If, however, light is to be thrown on the undoubted terminological confusion surrounding the term "*haka*" (and numerous other terms relating to Maori dance) one must at the very least, in our view, avoid imputing it to writers who did not use it. Thus (for the record) George Forster (1777(I):220) whom Youngerman represents (p. 81) as describing "*haka*" performed aboard the *Resolution* in 1773 in fact used the Tahitian term "*heiva*" [*hiva*]; John Forster (1778:476) wrote not of a *peruperu*, as Youngerman (p. 80) would have it, but of a "war-song"; and other authors stated by Youngerman to have described *haka* also fail to use the term. On p. 82-3 Youngerman correctly points out that the word *haka* refers both to the dance and to the song accompanying it and that the song may be performed without the dance. (The song is, as stated, a "shouted" composition (p. 82). It is inaccurate, however, to describe it as alternatively "chanted" (loc.cit.).) Earlier (p. 77) she makes what is probably intended to be the same point by stating that *haka* "is the Maori generic term for both singing and dancing." This statement is simply erroneous. There is no Maori word for both singing and dancing. The most serious of these lapses, however, is Youngerman's failure to make it clear that *haka* in the sense of generic for "dance" is a contemporary usage, which may or may not have been true of earlier practice.

3. Another usage adopted uncritically from Armstrong and applied consistently throughout Youngerman's essay is his dichotomy between *haka taparahi* and *peruperu* the former of which "is performed without weapons and may express any public or private sentiment" while the *peruperu* "is performed with weapons and hence is usually warlike in character" (Armstrong 1964:120). Again this is a contemporary usage. It is untrue, as implied, that *peruperu* and *taparahi* are identical except for the presence or absence of weapons. Moreover, Youngerman appears to believe that each of the earlier varieties of *haka* can be classified under one or other of these headings. Such a proceeding is grossly misleading and, in the absence of corrective information, leads her often into error. Thus, she finds a reference to paddles "struck against the side of their boats" confusing in a description of a so-called war dance in Banks's journal of 1770. Perhaps, she surmises, Banks is "combining two ideas here: the rhythmic unison of both their dancing and their canoe paddling. . . ." But Banks almost certainly was thinking of the canoe song called *tukiwaka* or *hautu waka* which, from a number of accounts, appears to have been a *ngeri* or form of *haka* sung in shouted style in identical manner to the war dance. The appellation "war dance" in this description was Banks's and not necessarily to be taken any more literally than ought to be the case with later writers who, as Youngerman correctly observes, by calling all *haka* "war dances" obfuscate differences that, in retrospect, we know to have existed. There is, indeed, a plethora of terms relating to *haka*. At least 30 terms refer to different kinds of *haka*; several more appear to have been used for other kinds of dance; and there are numerous further terms concerned with the performance of *haka*. Many of them are explicated in the review by Awatere (1975) earlier quoted in which, for the first time in all of the descriptions of Maori dance published since Cook's day, up to and including Armstrong's account, a satisfactory explanation is given of indigenous dance terminology while at the same time making clear subtle differences in connotation of terms applying to various occasions of performance. Additionally, there is tabular listing as to which terms, amongst different canoe or tribal areas, are synonyms and which refer to actual differences in structure or performance of the several dance-types traditional to these areas.

Some of these terms appear in Elsdon Best's *Games and Pastimes of the Maori* (1925) where the principal informant, Tuta Nihoniho, is named. Unfortu-

nately, nearly all of the words collected by Best are listed as if they were exclusive types of *haka*, whereas in fact many have overlapping meanings, or else apply to individual features of identical dance types. It is from Best's inadequate typology that Armstrong and, following him, Youngerman have been able to conclude that "Today the term *haka* generally refers to only *haka taparahi*, the shouted posture dance, as the other forms have mainly disappeared" (p. 77). In many cases these "other forms" were either not signified by the terms in the first place or have not, in fact, disappeared but have simply become subsumed by the more general term.

Youngerman's failure to come to grips with Maori dance terminology is demonstrated nowhere more clearly than on p. 87 where, after describing war dances as "apparently all *haka taparahi*," she piles confusion on confusion by writing of "variations" of *haka taparahi* "like *haka paterere*, a dance of abuse, or *peruperu*." A *peruperu* is not a "variation" of a *taparahi*. And whence the term *haka paterere*? A *paaterere* is not a dance in any conventional sense but a traditional chant composed in competitive vein as a reply to taunts or accusations, often by a woman in response to slander or criticism of her behavior. The song lays claim to the genealogical standing of the composer, and historical and other allusions to tribal conquest are included to emphasize the superiority of the composer's people. It is true that in *paaterere*, as indeed in some other Maori song types, body movement, arm and hand gestures, and facial expression may be part of a performance. Because there are, or are no longer, European cultural equivalents of such performances, recourse tends to be made to clumsy appellations like "song with gestures" or "song and dance," when these terms already have connotations of their own. In musical terms, *paaterere* may be identified by means of their highly distinctive rhythmic structure; textually they are characterized by their historical and genealogical content; and the dance ethnologist may indeed choose to focus on the distinctive movements that are sometimes part of their performance. Because of the stylized gestures of torso, head, and arms, including *wiri* (hand trembling) and facial expressions, all of which occur spontaneously at the whim of the performer, *paaterere* may thus be thought of as dances in a qualified sense. However, despite the ambiguities inherent in English song/dance typology there can be no justification for glossing *paaterere* as a variation of *haka taparahi*, with its quite different song text, distinctive style of vocal performance, and convention of continuous movement, uniform for the group, in which the only scope for spontaneous performance lies with individual facial expressions and movements of eyes, eyebrows, and tongue. Certainly no knowledgeable Maori would concur with such a merging of the terms.

On p. 88 the author first quotes a description of a "military exercise" from Vayda (1960), who in turn relies on Buck and Best—thus the passage is not even a secondary source—in which a party of warriors leap high in the air while judges crouch low to see if all are uniform in their actions. This, along with other evidence linking dance with training in martial skills, Youngerman regards as showing that *haka* "can be interpreted according to a functionalist viewpoint as providing a means of fulfilling certain biological, psychological, and utilitarian needs" (p. 88). One could criticize this statement for its grandiloquence. But more importantly the author goes on to pose a number of problems arising from this interpretation most of which, once again, can be shown to result from her failure to distinguish the several *haka* terms. Why, she asks, if the *haka* is danced to work one into battle fervor does this not happen when it is danced for entertainment? Why, if the *haka* is to train men in military skills do women take part? The answer ought to be

obvious. These are different kinds of *haka*. The example from Vayda is a divinatory form of war dance—called *tuutuungaarahu* or *whakatuuwaewae*—in which one man's feet seen to be up while the others were down was taken as an omen of unsuccess. Women did not take part in such *haka* though they did perform in social *haka*, or—if old—as leaders in *peruperu* (the war dance proper). The numerous types of *haka* were differentiated in terms of function and manner of performance, and the names given to them are indicative of real distinctions. Youngerman's problem is that she unduly equates the different social categories simply, it seems, because all can be called *haka*.

4. Our final point of issue concerns what one of us (Shennan 1977:50) has called the "*haka waiata* fallacy." Armstrong's use of the term and his assumption that this supposed early dance genre "is the forerunner of the modern action song" (p. 93) is accepted by Youngerman as gospel, as apparently is his erroneous attribution (Armstrong 1964:103) of the term to "Dr Thompson" [sic] (Thomson 1859 (I):193) upon the basis of which we assume Youngerman derives her statement (p. 94) that the "*haka waiata* is not described definitely until the nineteenth century." To the best of our knowledge, the term first appears in Best's *The Maori* (1924(II):106), where it is attributed to "an east coast native" and is stated to be "accompanied by a song of what may be termed a mild nature, and movements are not so quick and energetic as in most others." In his *Games and Pastimes* (1925:48), Best repeats the list of *haka* terms given in *The Maori*, adds that these *haka* types are practiced among the Ngaati Porou tribe, and this time defines *haka waiata* as "posture dances accompanied by a mild species of songs and fairly slow movements." There is no evidence to suggest that this term was ever widespread or ever applied to a pre-twentieth century category of dance. Awatere (1975:512), who himself was from Ngaati Porou, the acknowledged originators of the modern action-song, is adamant that he never heard the term in use there. Our own surmise is that Best's single informant used the hybrid term *haka waiata* as descriptive not of a traditional form but of the newly evolved action song itself, which by then was probably already fairly well established as a genre but may have lacked an agreed-upon name. In any traditional sense the compound "*haka waiata*" would be, as Awatere (loc.cit.) points out, "a contradiction in terms" because *haka* are invariably accompanied by shouted songs, whereas *waiata* are, in contrast, melodic. As a description of an action-song, however, the term makes very good sense because—although not obviously or, in any formal sense, necessarily derived from *haka*—this genre combines actions that—as in *haka*—are uniform with a song that—as in *waiata*—is melodic.

Detailed attention to the problem of the origins of action-song would be out of place here. Suffice to say that interviews with informants who remember discussing the matter with the reputed originator of action-song, Sir Apirana Ngata (Shennan 1977:19) reveal the stylized gestures of the *paatere* (not, be it noted, a form of *haka*) as the most likely inspiration for the earliest action-songs (or *waiata-a-ringa*) composed in the first years of the twentieth century. Many of these early compositions were simple love ditties with words set to a catchy and popular tune of the time. The arm actions of the *waiata-a-ringa* were few and simple, though stylized and performed with the particular qualities of lightness and firm accent of *paatere* gesture. The same qualities are still apparent in the many *ringa* innovated for the more elaborate compositions performed today by those who are most adept. In fact, when a performance is given by older women, there is a striking resemblance to the "unbroken wrist" line of hand and arm in *paatere*, the very

subtle foot stress for the beat, and the remarkable economy of preparatory effort for each movement, even (or perhaps particularly) when the performer is a person of very generous physical proportions. Be this as it may, however, the point we wish to make to Youngerman is that the predecessors of action-song were no doubt many, and nothing is to be gained by facile oversimplification, particularly on the basis of a single unsubstantiated statement from Best reported at second hand from Armstrong. To quote Peter Buck (1950:3): "The richness of Maori culture is lessened and not enhanced by post-European rationalization alleged to be old. . . ."

Misquotations

Youngerman (p. 94) cites one of the present writers as stating (McLean 1969) that *haka poi* as performed today derive from a style that evolved in the 1880s and 1890s as part of a religious movement now in decline. She then describes modern *poi* songs as performed by contemporary action-song teams and adds: "The dance is interesting rhythmically due to, as Mervyn McLean phrases it, 'the conflict of an additive melodic metre with the offbeat divisive slap of *poi* balls' (McLean 1969:69)." In the above she shows herself as cavalier in her treatment of modern sources as she is with older ones. The article cited in fact makes no mention of "*haka poi*." Nor is there the slightest implication either that the statements made apply to modern *poi* or that the styles described evolved into modern *poi*. Rather, it is made abundantly clear that these particular songs belong to a unique category of religious *poi* songs peculiar to Taranaki. It is therefore misleading to apply the description to all *poi* songs, especially modern ones to which it demonstrably does *not* apply. Again (p. 95), one is astounded to find oneself seemingly cited as mentioning practices relating to " 'Chiefs' Daughters' or 'Slave Girls' " (it is not clear which) "in regard to the *poi* dance (McLean 1969)." One can only say that not only was no such statement intended but a check of the original fails to turn up any evidence of it.

Conclusion

We may appear to have been hard on Youngerman; we have indeed chosen to focus upon inadequacies rather than attempt a balanced appraisal that would give credit where it may be due. That, however, is not our purpose. We have not set out to write a review. Rather we have tried to provide correctives while adding to Youngerman's own caveats about the difficulties of historical reconstruction.

Since the period of first contact between Maori and European in New Zealand, numerous accounts of Maori dancing have appeared in New Zealand missionary, travel, and ethnographic literature (see McLean 1977 for an index of sources). The retrospective construction from such accounts of a typology of Maori dance from the time of first European contact is not an easy task and, indeed, it would be unreasonable to expect a complete picture to emerge. Youngerman herself points to "gaps in our knowledge of pre-European Maori dances (p. 94) and lack of clear evidence on such matters as rehearsal, specialisation, the influence of rank, leadership, aesthetic criteria, and Maori attitudes

towards dancing (p. 95). Nevertheless, a scholar setting out to make use of documentary materials has few real alternatives. One may choose to treat these materials as historical sources in their own right, while making allowance for their varying reliability, or alternatively may seek to relate them to indigenous viewpoints as encountered in field work. We have made it clear that the latter approach commends itself to us. Youngerman, on the other hand, of necessity, is forced to rely wholly on the first approach and—not unnaturally—fails because the only way in which she can “round out the picture of Maori dancing” (p. 76) is by recourse either to further such materials or, worse, to secondary and even tertiary sources, which achieve coherency only by imposing a false and alien order on the data.

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ANOTHER VIEW OF LOMAX'S FILM *DANCE AND HUMAN HISTORY*

Judith Alter

Alan Lomax's *Dance and Human History* can be a most stimulating teaching tool for as many reasons as Joann Kealiinohomoku criticizes it (*Ethnomusicology* 23(1):169-76). That is, the film, used together with the written theory, goals, methods, analyses, and criticisms of choreometrics is an excellent way to introduce students to the major issues, problems, and methods in dance ethnography or (as Kealiinohomoku calls the field) ethnochoreology. In an introductory dance theory course, I use the film in precisely this manner. The students read two other theoretical overviews that attempt a cross-cultural synthesis of dance (Wosien 1974; Lawson 1967). They then read the chapters on choreometrics in *Folk Song Style and Culture* (Lomax 1968). They also read "Cross Cultural Study of Dance: Description and Implications" by Irmgard Bartenieff and Forrestine Paulay (1970), the effort/shape experts who worked out the movement coding system for choreometrics. Then they read the critical reviews of Lomax's approach, project, and method by Kealiinohomoku, Drid Williams, and Suzanne Youngerman (CORD 1974:16-29). To this list I will now add Kealiinohomoku's review in this Journal. Students read from among several ethnographic studies that place dance and other arts in the context of their own culture. They then write an analysis of the issues and problems in this growing field by comparing the two methodological viewpoints, dance in its specific cultural context and dance from a cross-cultural perspective. So, used carefully, Lomax's attempt to study dance and human history can be made understandable to students.

When Lomax showed the film at the SEM Conference in October 1975, he introduced it as a teaching film. He indicated that the purpose of the film was to demonstrate how to see 5 of the 100 or more "motion qualities" specifically identified for study in choreometric coding procedure. Bartenieff and Paulay summarize the range that these observations encompass (1970:65):

- (a) body parts habitually involved, (b) the body attitude, (active stance), (c) the shape and dimension of movement, (d) the way direction changes in movement, (e) movement qualities such as relative smoothness and tempo, (f) torso-unit relationship, (g) the degree and kind of synchrony between movers, and (h) features of group formation.

Seeing the swift array of sections of entire dances race by as they do in the film tends to dislodge from the viewer's mind the idea that only 5 features of movement are being highlighted. Lomax made the film to train the viewer to *see* these dimensions of dance action. This goal is similar to the purpose of the cantometrics training tapes, designed to teach the listener to hear the components of music that Lomax identified for study. When presented with this training-to-see goal, the film and its narrative script imply less of an "A causes B" message. In Lomax's final generalization that dance movements "represent the interplay of economic productivity and climatically-influenced division of labor," he suggests that these factors are closely related, not necessarily causally related.

Preparatory reading surely enables students to understand the purpose of the film. The students benefit by analyzing Lomax's method. First, he brings to this mass of dance material an hypothesis: "We are comparing dance to everyday movement in order to verify the hypothesis that danced movement is patterned reinforcement of the habitual movement patterns of each culture or culture area"

(1968:xv). Thus students are aware that he is operating deductively, not inductively, and they know that he is studying gross cultural features on a large scale. In the film, Lomax shows part of the results.

My students question the juxtaposition of entertainment, ceremonial, recreational, folk dance, et cetera. Lomax says that his visual association is deliberate (1968:223):

there has been no means of description suitable to comparative study and no body of theory to explain how dance and culture are linked in all societies and in all stages of development. The aim of the present investigation, therefore, becomes one of recording and noting regularities and contrasts in movement pattern sufficiently frequent and gross to produce units universally applicable in cross-cultural studies.

(I am aware that Lomax's phrase "stages of development" reflects an outdated evolutionary premise of cultural history, and alert students to this issue. Lomax, in answer to my question, admits that he read no other comparative dance theory before or during his study, so was unaware that Curt Sachs (1937) had suggested this work-dance connection years earlier.)

Students aware of the problems intrinsic to filming any type of dance, question Lomax's use of the existing films available to him as data. Again the answer is found in *Folk Song Style and Culture* (1968:263):

The cinema has thus far served the ethnologist largely as a way to supplement and preserve observations already recorded in his notebooks, or relationships already analyzed out of his field work . . . Choreometrics, however, is an attempt to employ film as a source and a tool in the comparative and historical study of culture and of human behavior.

We regard the vast, endlessly provocative, prejudice-laden, existing sea of documentary footage as the richest and most unequivocal storehouse of information about humanity.

Adding introductory remarks to the film, clearly stating that the 200 films drawn on are not a random sample would undoubtedly clarify that the film demonstrates a method of study, and the conclusions are based on the limited sources used.

Lomax clearly states his perspective, that of looking for universal positive relationships among dance patterns around the world. His general and broadly comparative viewpoint differs vastly from many dance ethnographers whose perspective is specific cultural description and analysis. Their major methodological challenge is to understand the interrelationships of a single culture's components with as little simplification and distortion as possible. Therefore Lomax's attempt at such a large cross-cultural synthesis appears undisciplined. Anya Royce, in *The Anthropology of Dance* (1977), discusses Lomax's cross-cultural method. She uses it to illustrate the problems of such a large scale study when the new field of dance ethnography is just evolving updated systematic techniques. She compares Lomax's study with the outdated work of Curt Sachs, as does Suzanne Youngerman (CORD 1974:16). Royce notes that Lomax uses "appropriate statistical tests for reliability and inter-coder agreement," whereas Sachs "produced essentially impressionistic statements about styles" (1977:138). Royce does credit the choreometric coding method as useful, however (1977:60):

The coding sheet and the explanations of the abbreviations used in it could profitably be used by field researchers who are concerned with recording the gross structural features of a dance or dance complex. A less comprehensive set of

features may also be used as a preliminary step, scoring the dance, for example, only in terms of three major features: body attitude, body parts most frequently articulated, and dimensionality of movement path. It must be emphasized, however that neither the Choreometrics coding sheet nor the preliminary version of it will provide a complete description of a particular dance. They are designed to pick out gross features and they do it well. For some kinds of research, this is perfectly adequate, and in some field situations it may be all that one can record.

The choreometric method of seeing features of dance in cross-cultural context is basically what *Dance and Human History* is about. Used for teaching part of the coding scheme and to illustrate problems of cross-cultural analysis using a variety of types of available film footage, Lomax's film can sink students directly into the center of the exciting, self-critical, and challenging field of dance ethnography. Used with a number of cautions, it can be stimulating, to say the least. Certainly the sample of dances of the world, put side by side, is enriching and may entice students to investigate any of the number of questions Lomax's commentary raises.

Since I personally value the style of thinking and resulting projects that work toward a synthesis of large quantities of ideas, material, or information, I enjoy (intellectually and emotionally) the type of work Lomax is doing. I also want to go on record to say how much I respect and value Kealiinohomoku's work and expertise in ethnochoreology. I am a teacher of dance and dance theory, not an expert in dance ethnography—though I am carefully enough informed to teach about it at an introductory level. This alternate review can only reflect my limited perspective. I use the film as a teaching tool and by-pass the distorted, exaggerated, and as yet unfounded theoretical ideas scattered through the film script. I think the script does not represent the choreometrics project adequately, because Lomax oversimplifies his long range goals of understanding dance in relation to culture and cultural history by drawing conclusions too soon.

I understand that there are students successfully using the choreometrics coding scheme to study dance in specific cultures: so in spite of Lomax's "outdated" theoretical framework, the method he helped to initiate is indeed a useful research tool.

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ARGUMENT BY INSULT: A REACTION TO SCHNEIDER'S LETTER

Fritz A. Kuttner

Albrecht Schneider's reply to Christensen (*Ethnomusicology* 22:476-479) touches vital interests of our entire membership and should not be allowed to pass without vigorous protest. There is no doubt that Mr. Schneider is entitled to publicly argue his defense against Christensen's review of the book *Musikwissenschaft und Kulturkreislehre*. Whether he is unconditionally entitled to do so in the pages of *Ethnomusicology* is very questionable; there are quite a few learned periodicals which, as a matter of principle, do not print refutations and other arguments of critical reviews if the letter writer is the reviewed author himself or his publisher. (Exceptions are occasionally made if the writer is a neutral third party who voices serious objections against the reviewer's findings). The reasons for such editorial policies are obvious: it may be a journal's only method to escape from a situation where for every page of critical reviewing two pages of angry argument are demanded by furious authors. The alternative of dispensing altogether with critical reviews is usually unacceptable to the readership. Furthermore the position is justified that any author submitting his work for critical review may have to put up with an unfavorable report.

Ethnomusicology, so far, has generously kept its pages open to replies by dissatisfied authors, but it can continue this policy only if two conditions are meticulously met: The reviewers must be fully protected against abuse, and the Journal must be kept free of intentional insults and other offensive correspondence. Book reviewers are volunteers donating their services to the membership; they sacrifice their time first in studying the subject of the review, and then in fulfilling the thankless job of composing (and often several times recomposing) the review article, while not infrequently risking the penalty of unpopularity for work conscientiously done. If the book happens to be a mediocre or poor piece of scholarship and writing, the chances are that an honest review, even if formulated with considerable moderation, will make a deadly enemy of the criticized author. If, in the face of such risk and sacrifice, the journal does not always protect its reviewers against abuse, only fools and incompetent critics are likely to accept these demanding and often very unpleasant assignments.

Such protection can only be provided if the Editors have the full authority and even mandate to insist on immaculate manners on the part of disgruntled authors. Most Editors will hate this function because it has some aspects of censorship. And some letter writers exploit this editorial reluctance to act as censors even for such limited purpose. One such case is Schneider's reply to Christensen as submitted to the Editor of *Ethnomusicology*.

Having lived in Germany for the first 36 years of my life, I know from experience that this kind of "repartee" or "argument by insult" was not at all uncommon in academic circles of some European countries. There are, in fact, in German some untranslatable words describing this correspondence style, and Schneider will easily understand them: "*Rempelei*" and "*Anpöbelung*." The reason that such "argumentum ad hominem" (as the overly civilized American nomenclature calls it) was never really possible in the United States, is simply that the American libel law is brutally restrictive of this kind of written argumentation. Schneider intentionally disregards the facts that Dieter Christensen is a Professor at Columbia University, that he is a gentleman, and that for about five years was Book Review Editor of *Ethnomusicology*, which means that he has unusual experience in the techniques and requirements of book reviewing in our field of scholarly activity.

The accusations against Christensen clearly represent attacks on the reviewer's integrity and a defamation of his character by asserting the use of faked or fraudulent facts or arguments ("intentional distortions," "some fancy of his own," etc.) and culminating in a grotesque allegation: that Christensen wrote his rather critical review in order to further his own professional objectives; since he plans a publication on the same topic as Schneider's book, he wishes to discredit Schneider first by fraudulent critical arguments. Christensen's review is admittedly rather harsh in its critical evaluation, but that does not justify such a poisonous attack on Christensen's character and integrity. And Schneider should be put on notice that he makes himself highly unpopular among his colleagues in the United States where this type of *Rempelei* in scholarly periodicals is unacceptable and may be resented and remembered much longer than he would care.

The Editor and the Editorial Board of our Journal should be urged to use their censorial authority to the very limit in order to keep the pages of *Ethnomusicology* free from abusive and libelous language of letter writers, especially those in foreign countries who try to exploit the generosity of our editorial policies. It is my hope that many members will write in to express their support of this objective and to make it a clear mandate for the Editor. We need good and willing reviewers and a clean journal.

ON EDITORIAL POLICY

Dieter Christensen

The publication of A. Schneider's diatribe (1978:476-80) in response to my review of his book, *Musikwissenschaft und Kulturkreislehre* (Christensen 1977:502-05) introduces to this journal a literary genre previously reserved for other publications. With Karl Signell's "Response to Touma" (1979:108-09), the pattern seems firmly established: reviewed authors, dissatisfied with the treatment they received in the Journal, compose a "Letter to the Editor" in which they defame their reviewer to get their own publicity notice into print. I find the results difficult to reconcile with the declared object of the Society for Ethnomusicology, whose official organ this Journal is.

How does it serve "the advancement of research and study in the field of ethnomusicology" to print Schneider's declaration "I have *not* claimed that Hornbostel published two papers¹ in 1906, as Christensen falsely alleges to 'correct' my pages 109-110" (Schneider 1978:478), when this statement is obviously untrue, as a glance at Schneider 1976:109 will show?² Similarly, how is scholarship furthered by making known Schneider's denials concerning Easter Island script on Palau in Micronesia,³ Friedrich Ratzel's alleged activities in 1929,⁴ Javanese "panpipes,"⁵ etc., denials which are all patently unfounded? Again, what is the purpose of publishing in *Ethnomusicology* imagined "admissions"⁶ and refutations of fictitious criticism?⁷ Does the Editor indeed consider all this, and the dissemination of libellous insinuations, a service to the SEM membership and society at large, disregarding for the moment the legal aspects and their potential consequences?

There may be some merit in correcting printing errors (Signell 1979:108) committed in another journal, particularly when the review in question has also appeared "virtually word-for-word," and with the correct information, in this journal.⁸ But why direct to the general readership a question ("Were the respective editors of the two journals aware that they did not have an exclusive contribution?") that can be answered only by the (book review) editors concerned? Does not printing this question without editorial comment amount to publicly passing judgment on professional conduct?

How does the Editor see and explain his role in the publication of these two letters directed to him? The effects that a continuation of this editorial practice might have on the Journal and Society deserve the most serious consideration.

NOTES

1. In my review (1977:503), I am referring to "lectures" rather than, ambiguously, to "papers."

2. "Wenn man nun v. Hornbostels Werdegang betrachtet, so erscheint das Jahr 1906 als Zäsur: in diesem Jahr veröffentlichte v. Hornbostel zwei Vorträge . . ." (If one now considers v. Hornbostel's development, then the year 1906 appears as a caesura: in this year v. Hornbostel published two lectures . . .)

3. Schneider 1978:479: "I have neither attributed the Easter Island script to Palau of Micronesia . . ." Schneider 1976:133: "Hornbostel dagegen meinte in dieser Schrift ein Vorstadium der mexikanischen zu sehen. da sie gewisse Ähnlichkeiten auch mit der Osterinselschrift auf Palau erkennen lasse." (Hornbostel, however, believed to detect in this script [of the Cuna] an earlier stage of the Mexican script, since it showed certain similarities with the Easter Island script on Palau).

4. Schneider 1978:479: "... nor have I said that Friedrich Ratzel, who died in 1904, was leading a reorientation of ethnological methodology in 1929." In Schneider 1976:78, we read with reference to Curt Sachs's *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente* (1929): "Berner bemerkte ganz richtig, dass es sich . . . unschwer erkennen lässt, welchen gewichtigen Einfluss auf die grundlegenden Arbeiten von Curt Sachs gerade die völkerkundliche Methodik ausgeübt hat, die sich damals unter der Führung von Ratzel, Graebner und Frobenius in einer Neuordnung befand." (Berner remarks quite correctly that it is . . . not difficult to recognize the significant influence which ethnological methodology has had on the basic works of Curt Sachs, a methodology which at that time was being revised under the leadership of Ratzel, Graebner and Frobenius.)

5. Schneider 1976:117: "Bereits 1907 hatte er [=v. Hornbostel] festgestellt, dass bei melanesischen und javanischen Panpfeifen einige Tonhöhen und Intervalle übereinstimmen." (As early as 1907 Hornbostel had noticed correspondences of some pitches and

intervals on Melanesian and Javanese panpipes.) The Javanese instruments involved are *saron*, *slentem*, and *gamban* (see Hornbostel 1907), which only some combination of carelessness, ignorance, and miscomprehension could lead to be identified as "panpipes." To insist on such an identification, as Schneider does, takes something else again.

6. Schneider 1978:477: "However, Christensen frankly admits that I'm talking 'at great length' . . . about the interest Frobenius, Ankermann, and Foy . . . showed in ethno-organology" and proceeds to conclude that Kulturkreislehre drew heavily on results of comparative musicology. Christensen (1977:503) has admitted no such thing, and continues to refuse equating musical instruments with "ethno-organology" or even with theoretical accomplishments of comparative musicology.

7. Schneider 1978:476: "Christensen accuses me of . . . basing my considerations 'largely on secondary sources' . . ." Christensen (1977:502) wrote: "The *first part* [emphasis added] of the book is based largely on secondary sources. In the second, the main part . . ."

8. The text of Touma's review that appeared—without music examples—in the popular UNESCO quarterly *World of Music* (1978a) appears to be a substantially abbreviated version of the full text published in the scholarly journal *Ethnomusicology* (1978b).

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A NOTE ON EDITORIAL PRACTICE

Fredric Lieberman

The points Christensen raises in the preceding essay require response. He questions, of course, not only my role in the publication of the letters under discussion, but also my judgment. I am perhaps naive and overly idealistic in subscribing to the notion of an "open forum" for scholarly discussion and debate. Those who indulge in *ad hominem* argument, or who "doth protest too much," paint their own portraits all too clearly.

I agree, however, with Kuttner's insistence that the Editorial Staff should be free to excise material that is in our opinion objectionable; and we do so—particularly in reviews. Nevertheless, "Letters to the Editor" seems to be a preserve wherein freedom of speech matters more than scholarly decorum; I admit reluctance to censor such letters; and I believe that authors have some right to reply to criticism by reviewers. Of course, by publishing an author lays himself open to criticism; but equally, a reviewer is responsible for his words and may, in turn, be criticized.

To clarify editorial policy, and to encourage responsible dialogue, I am establishing this section of "Colloquy" ("high-level serious discussion"—*Webster's 3rd*). Essays included here should involve dialogue on substantive issues, and will be refereed. Shorter items of a primarily informational nature may still be submitted as "Letters to the Editor."

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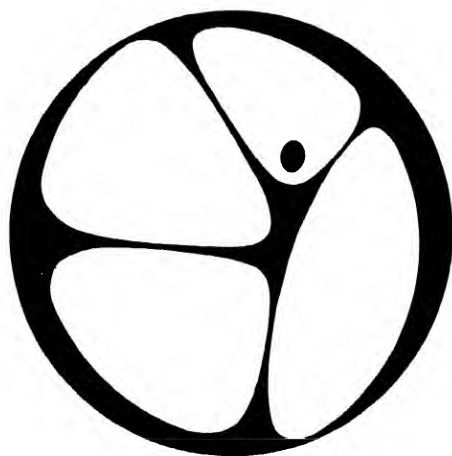
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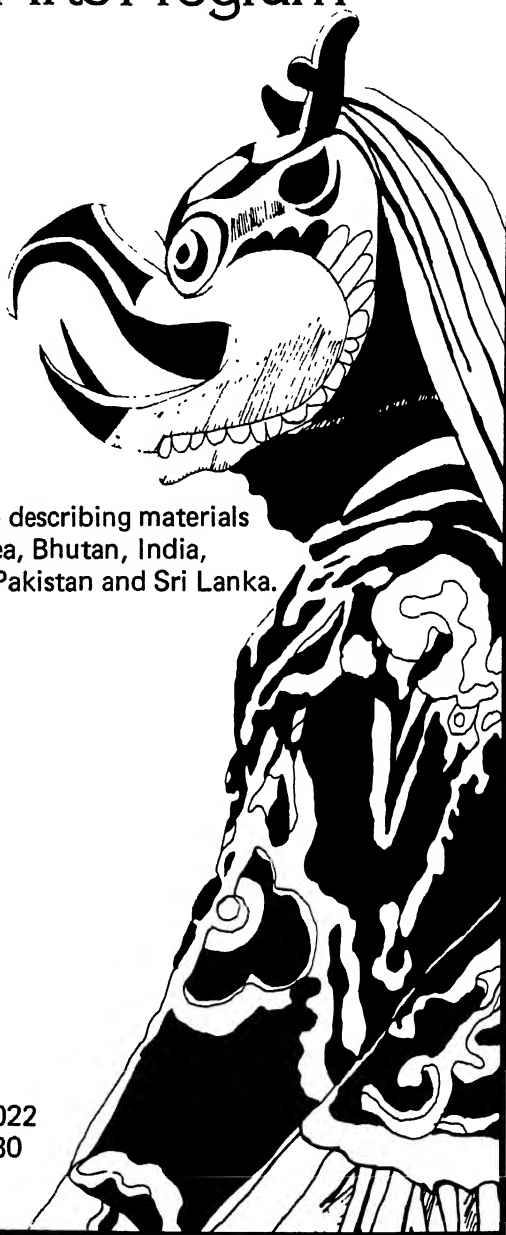
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